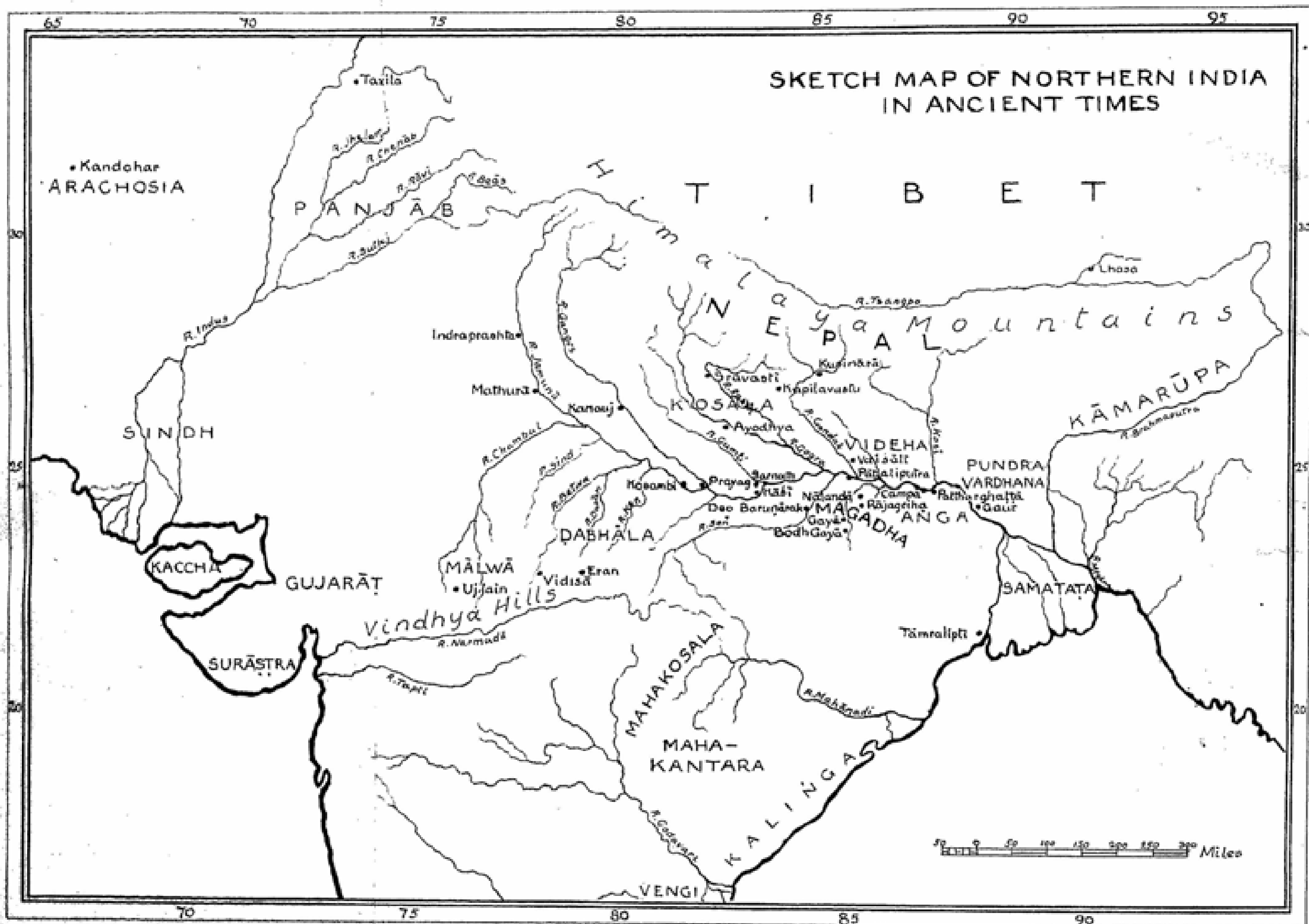



Sketch Map of Magadha and adjacent countries

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# The Magadhas in Ancient India



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# PREFACE

IN this short treatise I have attempted to present a detailed and systematic treatment of one of the most important ancient Indian tribes based on the original materials available from Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Tibetan, and Chinese works, as well as from the coins and inscriptions. I have tried to separate legends from authentic history as far as possible. It must be admitted that in a work of this kind one has to depend mainly, if not entirely, on literary tradition. An exhaustive treatment in a spirit of scientific research will, I believe, be of great value to those engaged in investigating the history of ancient Indian tribes.

I am grateful to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for accepting it as one of its monographs.

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43 KAILAS BOSE STREET,
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1944.

# THE MAGADHAS

By B. C. Law

THE Magadhas occupied a prominent position in very ancient times. Though the Ṛgveda does not mention them as such, yet the Vedic literature generally contains innumerable references to them as a people. In the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā,[1] the Māgadha is said to be connected with the Vrātya as his Mitra, his Mantra, his laughter, and his thunder in the four quarters. In the Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra [2] (which belongs to a school of the Sāmaveda) Vrātya-dhana or the property of the Vrātya is directed to be given either to a bad Brahmin or to a Brahmin of Magadha ; but the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (XVII, 1, 16), which also belongs to the Sāmaveda, does not say anything on the point.

In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III, 4, 1, 1) we read that the people of Magadha were famous for their loud voices. The fact that Māgadha in later times often stands for "minstrel" is easily accounted for by the assumption that the country was the home of minstrelsy and that wandering bards from Magadha were apt to visit the more western provinces of ancient India. The minstrel character of the Magadhas also appears from the Mānava Dharmaśāstra, which mentions them as bards and traders.[3] The Brahmapurāṇa tells us that the first great Samrāṭ or Emperor Pṛthu gave Magadha to Māgadha, being highly pleased with his song in praise of himself.[4]

The later texts recognize the Māgadhas as a special caste, inventing an origin by intermarriage of the old established castes. In the Gautama Dharmaśāstra (IV, 17) and Manusaṃhitā,[5] the Māgadha is not a man of Magadha, but a member of a mixed caste produced by the union of a Vaiśya man and a Kṣatriya woman.

In the Śāṅkhāyaṇa Āraṇyaka it is said that Madhyama, son of Prātibodhi, was a resident of Magadha (*Magadhavāsin*).[6] In the

[1] *Harvard Oriental Series*, p. 774.
[2] viii, 6, 28. Cf. *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, xxii, 4, 22.
[3] *Manusaṃhitā*, x, 47.
[4] Ch. iv, śl. 67 ; *Vāyupurāṇa*, ch. 62, śl. 147.
[5] x, 47.
[6] A. B. Keith, *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. 46.

Āpastambha Śrauta Sūtra (XXII, 6, 18) the Magadhas are mentioned along with other peoples both of Eastern and of Western India, viz. the Kāliṅgas, the Gandhāras, the Pāraskaras, and the Sauvīras. They are also mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[1] where it is said that neither Kosala nor Videha was fully brahmanized at an early date, much less Magadha.

Coming down to the Epic age, we find the Magadhas frequently mentioned, and much information about the country and the people may be culled from the great epics. For instance, the Rāmāyaṇa [2] tells us that Vasiṣṭha asked Sumantra to invite many pious kings, including the Magadhan king, who was well versed in all the *śāstras*. King Daśaratha tried to appease his irate queen Kaikeyī by offering to present her with "articles manufactured in Magadha".[3] The Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa [4] informs us that Sugrīva sent monkeys in quest of Sītā to all parts of India, and even beyond its boundaries. Here Magadha is mentioned as one of the countries in the east.

Pargiter has sought to show on the evidence of the Purāṇas that the dynasties of Magadha and the adjoining countries descended from Kuru's son Sudhanvan. Vasu, the fourth in succession from Sudhanvan, conquered Cedi from the Yādavas, thereby obtaining the title Caidyoparicara, and also annexed the adjoining countries as far as Magadha. When he offered to divide his five territories among his five sons, the eldest son Bṛhadratha took Magadha with Girivraja as its capital and founded the famous Bārhadratha dynasty there.[5] We read in the Rāmāyaṇa that "Vasu the fourth son of Brahmā built Girivraja, the ancient capital of Magadha".[6]

The Purāṇas assert that the successors of Jarāsandha ruled over Magadha for a thousand years. Two of these kings, Kuśāgra and Vṛṣabha, are commemorated in early names of Rājagṛha (Girivraja, Kuśāgra-pura, Vṛṣabha-pura). Ripuñjaya was the last king of this dynasty. He was killed by his minister Sunika (? Pulika, Muṇika, Suṇaka), who installed his son Pradyota on the throne of Magadha. Five kings of the Pradyota dynasty ruled over Magadha

[1] I, 4; I, 10.
[2] *Ādikāṇḍa*, 13th Sarga.
[3] *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, 10th Sarga, śl. 37.
[4] 48th Sarga, śl. 23.
[5] Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 118, 282.
[6] *Ādikāṇḍa*, Canto 32, verse 7.

for 138 years, after which the Śiśunāgas came into power.[1] Twelve kings of this dynasty reigned in Magadha for 162 years, Mahānandin being the last king. Mahāpadma Nanda, son of Mahānandin by his Śūdra wife, destroyed the Kṣatriya race and established Śūdra rule in Magadha. Thereafter eight sons of Nanda ruled over Magadha for a hundred years,[2] and then the Nandas were destroyed in their turn by Kauṭilya, who installed Candragupta Maurya on the throne. Ten kings of the Maurya dynasty are said to have ruled over Magadha for 137 years. Bṛhadratha was the last king of this dynasty, which was followed by the Śuṅgas, founded by Puṣyamitra. Ten kings of this dynasty ruled for 112 years, Devabhūti being the last monarch of the Śuṅga family; he was killed by Vāsudeva Kāṇva, who founded the Kāṇva dynasty, and four kings of this family ruled in Magadha for forty-five years. Then Śipraka, a royal servant, murdered king Suśarman, usurped the throne, and founded the Andhra dynasty, thirty kings of which reigned in Magadha for 456 years.[3] The Viṣṇupurāṇa gives us a long list of the ancestors of Jarāsandha as well as of the monarchs who succeeded him.[4]

Kālidāsa, who seems to have derived his materials from the Purāṇas and Epics, speaks of the intermarriage of the early kings of Kosala with the ruling family of Magadha. He says that Dilīpa, the father of Raghu, married Sudakṣiṇā, daughter of the king of Magadha.[5] In his beautiful account of the Svayaṃvara of Indumatī Kālidāsa also refers to the prominent position occupied by the Magadhan king.[6] We have a description of Magadha in the Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin, who belongs to about the same

[1] The famous King Bimbisāra is said to have been the fifth of the Śiśunāga line, which was established before 600 B.C.; but the *Mahāvaṃsa* makes Śiśunāga the founder of a dynasty which succeeded that of Bimbisāra.

[2] Twenty-two years according to the more reliable account of the *Samantapāsādikā* (72). Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. iv.

[3] *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, iv, 24. The Buddhist *Samantapāsādikā* (vol. i, pp. 72–3) gives the following summary of Magadhan dynasties. Udaya Bhadda reigned for sixteen years. He was succeeded by Susunāga (i.e. Śiśunāga), who ruled for eighteen years. Then came the Nandas, who reigned in Magadha for the same period. The Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Candagutta, who ruled the kingdom for twenty-four years, and he was succeeded by Bindusāra, who reigned for twenty-eight years, and was succeeded by Asoka.

[4] *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, iv, ch. 19, ch. 23; *Matsyapurāṇa*, ch. 50, ch. 271.

[5] *Raghuvaṃśa*, i, 31.

[6] Ibid., vi.

period as Kālidāsa. Daṇḍin there speaks of a monarch, Rājahaṃsa, who was a powerful king of Magadha, and who defeated Manusāra, king of Mālava.[1] Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatta also speaks of Magadha and its king, whose daughter Padmāvatī married the king of Vatsa, Udayana.

The Samantapāsādikā mentions two other kings of Magadha, viz. Anuruddha and his son Muṇḍa. The latter is also referred to in the Aṅguttara Nikāya. Here we read that King Muṇḍa was overwhelmed with grief at the death of his queen, Bhaddā, and asked his treasurer to embalm her body in an oil-pot, so that he might continue to look at her. The treasurer besought Muṇḍa to go to the sage Nārada, who was dwelling at the Kukkuṭārāma near Pāṭaligāma (later Pāṭaliputra), and listen to his doctrine. Muṇḍa went to Nārada, who instructed him and brought him solace. The king then asked his treasurer to burn the dead body of his queen, and thereafter attended to his duties as usual.[2]

Before passing on to a more detailed account of the Magadhan dynasties, it may be as well to summarize what is known of the location of Magadha. According to Parāśara and Varāhamihira, Magadha was situated in the eastern division of the nine portions into which the sub-continent of India was divided.[3] Magadha was bounded by the Ganges on the north, by the district of Benares on the west, by Hiraṇyaparvata or Monghyr on the east, and by Kiraṇa Supavana or Singhbhum on the south. Cunningham infers that in ancient times Magadha must have extended to the Karmanāśā river on the west and to the sources of the Dāmoodar river on the south.[4] Rhys Davids gives as probable boundaries: the Ganges to the north, the Sone to the west, the country of Aṅga to the east, and a dense forest reaching the plateau of Chota Nagpur to the south.[5]

Magadha was a narrow strip of country of some considerable length from north to south, and of an area greater than that of Kosala. Just as Kosala corresponded very nearly to the present province of Oudh, but was somewhat larger, so Magadha corresponded at the time of the Buddha to the modern district of Patna,

[1] *Saṅkshiptakathā*, Pūrvapīṭhikā, pp. 4–5.
[2] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, iii, pp. 57 ff.
[3] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 6.
[4] Ibid., pp. 518 ff.
[5] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, *Ancient India*, p. 182.

but with the addition of the northern half of the modern district of Gayā. The inhabitants of this region used to call it Magā, a name doubtless derived from Magadha.[1] According to the Siamese and other Buddhist books, as Spence Hardy shows, Magadha or Madhyamaṇḍala was supposed to be situated in the centre of Jambudvīpa. It is generally regarded as answering to Central Bihar. It is called Makata by the Burmese and Siamese, Mo-ki-to by the Chinese, and Makala Kokf by the Japanese.[2] All these are no doubt phonetic variations of the name Magadha. Rapson says[3] that Magadha or Southern Bihar comprises the districts of Gayā and Patna, while Dr. H. C. Rai Chaudhuri places Magadha to the west of Aṅga, being separated from the latter kingdom by the river Campā.[4]

One of the earliest and most famous kings of Magadha was Jarāsandha, of Epic fame. The Mahābhārata speaks of Jarāsandha, son of King Bṛhadratha, as a very great and powerful king of Magadha who reigned in the city of Girivraja or Rājagṛha, "well guarded by mountains on all sides."[5] One of the ancient names of Rājagṛha was Bārhadrathapura, after Jarāsandha. According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Jarāsandha gave his two daughters in marriage to Kaṃsa, King of Mathurā, and when Kaṃsa was killed by Kṛṣṇa, Jarāsandha marched with his army to Mathurā to destroy Kṛṣṇa with all the Yādavas, only to be repulsed with heavy loss.[6] From other sources, however, we learn that Jarāsandha besieged Mathurā with his large army of twenty-three *akṣauhiṇīs*, defeated many of the kings of Northern India, and kept them imprisoned in Girivraja, it is said in a temple of Śiva, in order to sacrifice them to the god.[7] According to the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata, Jarāsandha, hearing of the valour of Karṇa, fought with him, but was defeated, and being pleased with his great skill in arms, made him king of the city of Mālinī.[8]

[1] *Cambridge History of India, Ancient India*, pp. 182–3.

[2] Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 140.

[3] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, p. 166.

[4] *Political History*, p. 53.

[5] *Sabhāparvan*, ch. 21.

[6] *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Aṃśa 5, ch. 22. The Khila-Harivaṃśa (*Viṣṇuparvan*, ch. 35, śls. 92 ff. and ch. 36, 56, 40) informs us that Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, killed the horses yoked to the chariot of Balarāma, but was ultimately defeated by the Vṛṣṇis.

[7] *Mahābhārata*, ii, 14–5 ; *Brahmapurāṇa*, ch. 195, śl. 3.

[8] *Śāntiparvan*, ch. 5.

In the Ādiparvan Jarāsandha is represented as a reincarnation of Vipracitti, a chief of the demons.[1] Jarāsandha exercised such great power that without defeating him it was not possible for Yudhiṣṭhira to assume the status of a paramount sovereign and perform the Rājasūya sacrifice. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa narrates that Bhīma, Arjuna, and Kṛṣṇa went to Girivraja, where Bhīma killed Jarāsandha, and Kṛṣṇa made Sahadeva (Jarāsandha's son) king of Magadha, and released all the kings imprisoned by Jarāsandha.[2] The Sabhāparvan relates that Bhīma proceeded again to Girivraja, where he forced Sahadeva to pay tribute to him; and at the Rājasūya sacrifice Sahadeva was present as one of the vassals of the Pāṇḍavas.[3] In the Kurukṣetra battle, Dhṛṣṭaketu, son of Jarāsandha, helped the Pāṇḍavas with a fourfold army.[4] After the battle of Kurukṣetra, when the horse let loose at the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira was proceeding towards Hastināpura, Meghasandhi, son of Sahadeva of Magadha, offered battle to Arjuna, but was defeated by him.[5]

After Ripuñjaya, the last king of Jarāsandha's line, came the Pradyotas, of whom there is not much to relate; and then followed the Śiśunāgas. The Śiśunāga dynasty was established before 600 B.C. (perhaps in 642 B.C.) by a chieftain of Benares named Śiśunāga, who fixed his capital at Girivraja or Rājagṛha. Bimbisāra, said to have been the fifth of his line, came to the throne about 528 B.C. The Mahāvaṃsa, however, makes Śiśunāga the founder of a dynasty which succeeded that of Bimbisāra; and the Purāṇas are self-contradictory. The first Pradyota, namely Caṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena, was a contemporary of Bimbisāra according to the early Pali texts; but the Purāṇas, as we have seen, make Śiśunāga an ancestor of Bimbisāra.[6] The fact that Vārāṇasī was included within Śiśunāga's dominions[7] supports the view that Śiśunāga came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in Kāśī. The Mālālaṃkāravatthu[8] tells us

[1] *Ādiparvan*, ch. 67, v. 4.

[2] *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, Skandha 10, ch. 72, *ślś*. 16, 46.

[3] *Sabhāparvan*, ch. 30, v. 18.

[4] *Udyogaparvan*, ch. 57, v. 8.

[5] *Aśvamedhaparvan*, ch. 82.

[6] *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99, 314; Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 98, and his article on *Seṇiya Bimbisāra*, *Ind. Hist. Quar.*, vol. i, No. 1, March, 1925, p. 87.

[7] *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 21.

[8] *S.B.E.*, xi, p. 16.

that Rājagṛha lost its rank as a royal city from the time of Śiśunāga. This also goes to show that Śiśunāga came after the flourishing days of Rājagṛha, i.e. the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

The Mahāvamsa (Geiger ed., p. 15) records some facts regarding King Bimbisāra of Magadha, telling us that he was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his father, and that he reigned for fifty-two years. The father of Bimbisāra was probably Bhaṭṭiya,[1] who was defeated by Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga. As we shall see, this defeat was later avenged by Bimbisāra.[2] Dr. Bhandarkar, however, makes Bimbisāra the founder of a dynasty, and says that he was a general who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Vajjis.[3]

There are several more or less fanciful explanations of Bimbisāra's name. The Sutta Nipāta Commentary relates that he was called Māgadha because he was the lord of the Magadhas. He was the possessor of a large army, hence he was called Seṇiya; and he was called Bimbisāra because his colour was like that of excellent gold.[4] In Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha* (p. 16) it is said that Bimbisāra was so called because he was the son of Bimbi, queen of King Mahāpadma of Rājagṛha. Jaina works represent Bimbisāra as a Jain by religion, and sometimes in Jaina tradition his name is coupled with that of Aśoka's grandson Samprati, as a notable patron of the creed of Mahāvīra.[5] All the Buddhist books, however, represent him as a devoted patron of the Buddha, and a great benefactor to the Buddhist Order.

Bimbisāra is said to have built the new Rājagṛha, the outer town to the north of the ring of hills encircling the ancient fort. We shall return later to the history of Rājagṛha.

King Bimbisāra annexed Aṅga to his kingdom. Aṅga was a small kingdom to the east, corresponding with the modern district of Bhagalpur and probably including Monghyr.[6] The Jātaka stories contain several references to Aṅga, both as an independent kingdom and as a vassal of Magadha. It is stated in one Jātaka story that at one time the King of Benares conquered Aṅga and

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1914, 321.
[2] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., pp. 98–9.
[3] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918. [4] p. 448.
[5] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 45.
[6] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 32.

Magadha,[1] and in another that the Magadhan kingdom once came under the suzerainty of Aṅga.[2] The Campeyya Jātaka records a fight between the two neighbouring countries of Aṅga and Magadha. The river Campā flowed between Aṅga and Magadha, and a Nāga king named Campeyya used to live in that river. From time to time Aṅga and Magadha were engaged in battle. Once the Magadhan king was defeated and pursued by the army of Aṅga, but he escaped by jumping into the river Campā. Again, with the help of the Nāga king, he defeated the king of Aṅga, recovered his lost kingdom, and conquered Aṅga as well. He became intimately associated with the Aṅga king and used to make offerings to him on the bank of the river Campā every year with great pomp.[3]

While this story is evidently fanciful, the Mahāvagga[4] offers reasonable evidence to prove that Aṅga came under Bimbisāra's sway, while the Sonadaṇḍa Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, by mentioning the bestowal of Campā, the capital of Aṅga, as a royal fief on the Brahmin Sonadaṇḍa, indirectly proves the same.[5] The Jaina works[6] tell us that a Magadhan prince governed Aṅga as a separate province with Campā as its capital. During Bimbisāra's lifetime his son Ajātaśatru acted as Viceroy at Campā.

The annexation of Aṅga was the turning point in the history of Magadha. As V. A. Smith says, it marked "the first step taken by the kingdom of Magadha in its advance to greatness and the position of supremacy which it attained in the following century, so that Bimbisāra may be regarded as the real founder of the Magadhan imperial power. He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the two neighbouring states, viz. Kosala and Vaiśālī. He took one consort from the royal family of Kosala

[1] *Jātaka* (Fausböll), v, 316.

[2] Ibid., vi, 272. See also Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 91.

[3] *Jātaka* (Fausböll), iv, pp. 454–5. In the *Mahāvastu* (i, pp. 288 ff.) a story is narrated of how once Rājagṛha was suffering from a very severe pestilence. The king sent to the king of Aṅga for a bull with supernatural powers, owing to which the Aṅga kingdom was prosperous and healthy. This bull was lent by the king of Aṅga, and when it was brought within the boundary limits of the Magadhan capital all pestilences due to attack by superhuman beings vanished.

[4] *S.B.E.*, xvii, p. 1.

[5] *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, pp. 111 ff.

[6] Hemacandra, *Sthavirāvalī*; cf. the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* and the *Nirayāvalī Sūtra*.

and another from the influential Licchavi clan at Vaiśālī ".[1] A third queen of Bimbisāra, as mentioned in the Therīgāthā Commentary (p. 131), was Khemā, daughter of the king of Madda (Madra) in the Punjab. According to the Jaina Nirayāvaliya-Sutta, the mother of Vehalla or Vihalla, one of the sons of Bimbisāra, was a daughter of Ceṭaka, the then king of Videha.[2] There is also mention of Udumbarikādevī, a royal lady, whose relation with Bimbisāra is not precisely known. The Jātakas tell us that Bimbisāra married Mahākosala's daughter, Kosaladevī, to whom her father gave as a wedding gift a village of Kāsī yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand, for bath and perfume-money.[3] The Mahāvagga says that Bimbisāra had 500 wives.[4]

Thus the marriages of Bimbisāra paved the way for the expansion of Magadha both westward and northward, and enabled Bimbisāra to add a part of Kāśī to his dominions and to launch Magadha in that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kaliṅga.[5]

The Vinayapiṭaka (I, p. 179) tells us that Bimbisāra was the lord of 80,000 villages, and the Mahāvagga also states that Bimbisāra's dominions embraced 80,000 townships, the overseers (Gāmikas) of which used to meet in a grand assembly.[6]

Bimbisāra had many sons, of whom we know the names of several, viz. Kūṇika Ajātaśatru, Abhaya, Vimala-Koṇḍañña,[7] Vehalla (or Vihalla), Sīlavat, Megha, Halla, and Nandisena.[8] King Bimbisāra's eldest son, Ajātaśatru, murdered his father. Many are the myths surrounding this dreadful deed.[9] Devadatta, the recalcitrant cousin of the Buddha, is said to have performed a miracle and thereby succeeded in persuading Ajātaśatru to become his follower. It was he, it is said, who induced the prince to torture his father to death. During the lifetime of Bimbisāra Ajātaśatru was made king, but at the instigation of Devadatta he killed his

[1] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 31–2.
[2] *Jaina Sūtras*, i, *S.B.E.*, p. xiii.
[3] Nos. 239, 283, 492.
[4] viii, 1, 15.
[5] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., pp. 166–7.
[6] Cf. *Vinayapiṭaka*, pt. ii, p. 1.
[7] *Psalms of the Sisters*, p. 120; *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 65.
[8] *Jaina Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 22.
[9] See, e.g. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, pt. i, p. 134.

father by starving him, in spite of the efforts of Queen Kosaladevī to provide her husband with sustenance.

On the day that Bimbisāra died a son was born to Ajātaśatru. The reports conveying the news of the death of his father and the birth of his child were received by his ministers simultaneously. They first handed to Ajātaśatru the letter conveying the news of the birth of his son. Forthwith the king's mind was filled with filial affection, and all the virtues of his father rose up before his mind's eye, and he at once ordered Bimbisāra's release. But it was too late. The ministers handed him the other letter, and on learning of his father's death, he cried, went to his mother, and asked her whether his father had had any affection for him. Kosaladevī told him a story illustrating his father's love for him. Hearing this, Ajātaśatru wept hot tears.[1]

The Vinaya (II, 490) gives a short account of an attempt made by Ajātaśatru to kill his father with a sword, and in the concluding portion of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta there is an allusion to the actual murder which he afterwards committed.[2] The details may or may not be true, but the fact that Bimbisāra was put to death by Ajātaśatru appears to have been an historical truth, the tradition is so very strong and persistent with regard to this matter. According to the Ceylonese chroniclers this event took place eight years before the death of the Buddha, when Bimbisāra had been on the throne for fifty-two years.[3] According to other accounts Bimbisāra reigned for twenty-eight or thirty-eight years, and Ajātaśatru for twenty-five years.[4]

After Bimbisāra's death Queen Kosaladevī died of grief. Ajātaśatru then began to enjoy the revenues of the Kāśī village, dowry of his mother. But Pasenadi of Kosala determined that no parricide should possess a village which had been presented to his sister, and he accordingly waged war upon his nephew. Pasenadi was defeated in three campaigns, but in another battle he avenged his defeat, and took possession of Kāśī. However, he treated Ajātaśatru generously, giving him his daughter Vajirā in marriage, and even bestowing the disputed village on her as a wedding gift. Thus Kāśī once again came under the sway of Ajātaśatru, and the

[1] Ibid., pt. i, pp. 138–9.
[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, p. 86.
[3] *Dīpavaṃsa*, iii, 50–60; *Mahāvaṃsa*, ii, 28–31.
[4] Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 67–9.

two kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala were once more closely united by matrimonial alliance.[1]

Ajātaśatru afterwards succeeded not only in permanently annexing Kāśī, but also in absorbing the land of the Licchavis. At any rate the Licchavis were obliged to accept Ajātaśatru's suzerainty and to pay him revenue, but they were in all probability independent in their internal politics. Ajātaśatru is said to have made use of two deadly weapons, the Mahāśilākaṇṭaga and the Rathamusala, in his war with the Licchavis. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which hurled big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which, when in motion, effected great execution of men. It may be compared to the modern tank.[2]

Kūṇika Ajātaśatru is represented throughout Jaina literature as a king of Aṅga who reigned in Campā. But the fact is that he was only the *uparāja* or viceroy of Aṅga, which formed part of the kingdom of Magadha. While viceroy of Aṅga, Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru picked a quarrel with the Vṛji-Licchavis of Vaiśālī over the possession of a mineral mine on the boundary of the two territories. The Pali commentatorial tradition indicates that Ajātaśatru was jealous of the Vṛji-Licchavis on account of their national solidarity and numerical strength. Accordingly, after he had ascended the throne of Magadha, he became bent upon destroying them and uprooting their power. He deputed his minister Varṣakāra (Vassakāra) to wait upon the Buddha and learn his opinion regarding the future of the Vṛjis. On coming to know that the Buddha laid much stress on unity as the source of their national strength, Ajātaśatru employed two of his ministers, Sunīdha and Varṣakāra, to build a fort at Pāṭaligāma with a view to repelling the Vṛjis[3]; he also proceeded to weaken them by treacherous means, and eventually succeeded in conquering them.

The Mahāvaṃsa[4] assigns a reign of thirty-two years to Ajātaśatru, while the Vinaya Commentary, Samantapāsādikā, puts his reign at twenty-four years, and the Puranic tradition indicates that he

[1] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i, 82–5. Cf. *Vaḍḍhaki-sūkara*, *Kummāsapiṇḍa*, *Taccha-sūkara*, and *Bhaddasāla Jātakas*.

[2] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., pp. 172–3.

[3] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, ii, pp. 516–17; *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, 87.

[4] ii, vv. 29, 31, 32.

reigned for twenty-five years.[1] Ajātaśatru suffered the same miserable fate as his father, being put to death by his son Udāyi Bhadda.[2] According to the genealogical lists given in the Purāṇas, Ajātaśatru was succeeded by Darśaka.[3] Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatta mentions a Magadhan king named Darśaka, but makes no mention of any fact that might lead us to believe that Darśaka was the successor of Ajātaśatru. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies him with Nāga Dāsaka, who is represented by the Ceylonese Chronicles as the last king of Bimbisāra's line. The Pali Canon and Jaina tradition do not warrant us in holding that Darśaka was the immediate successor of Ajātaśatru. The former asserts that Udāyi Bhadda was the son of Ajātaśatru and probably also his successor, and the latter[4] represents Udāyi as the immediate successor of Kūṇika Ajātaśatru. The Ceylonese Chronicles[5] also inform us that Udāyi Bhadda succeeded his father Ajātaśatru on the throne, and reigned for sixteen years. That Udayabhadda or Udāyibhadda was the son and successor of Ajātaśatru is borne out by the Sāmaññaphala-sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya (I, p. 50), by the Samantapāsādikā (p. 72) and the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (vol. i, pp. 153–4).

Before his accession to the throne Udāyi Bhadda seems to have acted as his father's viceroy at Campā.[6] The Jaina work Pariśiṣṭaparvan tells us that it was Udāyin who founded on the bank of the Ganges a new capital which came to be known as Pāṭaliputra, though the first beginning of a garrison-town appears to have been made during the Buddha's lifetime. The Vāyupurāṇa bears testimony to this fact, and says that Udaya built the city of Kusumapura in the fourth year of his reign.[7]

The successors of Udāyi Bhadda, according to the Purāṇas, were Nandivardhana and Mahānandin. The Purāṇa account does not tally with the Samantapāsādikā,[8] which tells us that Udāyi

[1] Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 67–9.

[2] *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. iv, v. 1.

[3] Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 67–9. "Ajātaśatru was followed by Darśaka, who reigned for twenty-five or twenty-seven years. After Darśaka, Udāyin became king and made Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra) his capital, situated on the south bank of the Ganges."

[4] Jacobi, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, p. 42.

[5] *Dīpavaṃsa*, v, 97; *Mahāvaṃsa*, iv, 1.

[6] Jacobi, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, p. 42.

[7] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 178; cf. Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 38–9, and *Samantapāsādikā*, pp. 72–3.

[8] pp. 72–3.

Bhadda was succeeded by his son Anuruddha, who reigned for eighteen years, and was succeeded by his son Muṇḍa, who reigned for the same period. Then came Nāga Dāsaka, who reigned for twenty-four years. Nāga Dāsaka was banished by the citizens, who anointed the minister Susunāga as king. This was probably because the people had become disgusted with the succession of parricides, from Ajātaśatru to Nāga Dāsaka. Susunāga reigned for eighteen years, and was followed by his son Kālāsoka, who reigned for twenty-eight years. Kālāsoka had ten sons, who ruled for twenty-two years.[1]

Then came in succession the nine Nandas, who took possession of the throne of Magadha and are said to have reigned for twenty-two years. According to the Purāṇas the founder and first king of the Nanda dynasty was Mahāpadma Nanda, son of Mahānandin by a Śūdra woman. He usurped the throne of Magadha in or about 413 B.C.[2] We learn from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Kāmandaka's Nītisāra, the Purāṇas and the Mudrārākṣasa that the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Candragupta Maurya with the help of his wily and astute minister, Kauṭilya.

Candragupta was the son of the chief queen of the Moriyan king of Pipphalivana, and founder of the Imperial Maurya dynasty of Magadha. He was advised by his minister Kauṭilya to seek the help of the Licchavis, who were then living under a *saṅgha* form of government. The Licchavis enjoyed a great deal of independence under Candragupta. It will be remembered that they had been forced by Ajātaśatru to acknowledge the suzerainty of Magadha. Candragupta appears to have liberated the Punjab from foreign rule. He inherited from his Nanda predecessor a huge army, which he increased until it numbered 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants, 600,000 infantry, and a multitude of chariots. With this irresistible force he overran and subdued all the northern states, probably as far south as the Narmadā, or even farther.[3] Plutarch[4] tells us that he brought under his sway the whole of India. Justin also says that Candragupta was in possession of India. Vincent Smith states that " the dominions of Chandragupta, the first historical paramount sovereign or emperor in India, extended from the Bay of Bengal

[1] Cf. *Dīpavaṃsa*, v.
[2] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 41.
[3] Ibid., p. 124.
[4] *Alex.*, lxii.

to the Arabian Sea ".[1] Justin [2] informs us that while India was under Candragupta, Seleukos (Seleucus), a general of Alexander the Great, made an expedition into India (about 305 B.C.). Appianus says that he crossed the Indus and waged war on Candragupta, king of the Indians, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.[3] The hosts of Candragupta, however, proved too strong for the invader to overcome, and Seleukos was perforce obliged to retire and to conclude a humiliating peace. This treaty may be dated in or about 303 B.C. It was ratified by a " matrimonial alliance ", which is taken to mean that Seleukos gave a daughter to Candragupta. Seleukos was not only compelled to abandon all thought of conquest in India, but also to surrender a large part of Ariana to the west of the Indus. In exchange for the comparatively trifling equivalent of 500 elephants, Candragupta received the satrapies of the Paropanisadai, Aria, and Arachosia, the capitals of which were known as Kabul, Herat, and Kandahar respectively. The satrapy of Gedrosia seems also to have been ceded. The inscriptions of Aśoka prove the inclusion of the Kabul Valley within the Maurya empire. After the war the Syrian and Indian emperors lived on friendly terms. Seleukos sent an envoy, Megasthenes, to Candragupta's court. Megasthenes stayed at Pāṭaliputra for a considerable time, and wrote a history of India. Unfortunately this work, which would have been invaluable for the ancient history of India, has been lost. The fragments which survive in quotations by later authors such as Strabo and Arrian have been collected by Schwanbeck, and translated by McCrindle.

Great soldier and conqueror as Candragupta admittedly was, he was no less great as an administrator. We have a very complete and detailed account of the system of administration in vogue in his time given in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, who is generally supposed to have been his chief minister, and the few fragments of Megasthenes which have survived amply corroborate this picture. The edicts of Aśoka again confirm in many respects the particulars of the organization of the empire given by Kauṭilya and Megasthenes. The supreme government, it appears from Kauṭilya's work, consisted of two main parts: (1) The Rājā, on the one hand, and

[1] V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 124.
[2] Watson's edn., p. 143.
[3] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vi, p. 114.

(2) the Mahāmātras, Amātyas, or Sacivas (ministers) on the other. At the head of the state was the sovereign (Rājā), who had military, judicial, and legislative as well as executive functions, but was never the spiritual head. In addition to the Mantrins there was the Mantripariṣad or Assembly of Imperial Councillors. In several passages of the Arthaśāstra the Mantrins are sharply distinguished from the Mantripariṣad. The members making up the latter body evidently occupied an inferior position, their salary being 12,000 *paṇas*, while that of a Mantrin was 48,000 *paṇas*.[1]

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra has been so largely utilized by scholars that any attempt to present anew an account of Candragupta's government would be futile and a mere repetition of what has already been said on the subject. The *Early History of India* [2] and the *Political History of Ancient India* [3] give us a systematic and critical account of the government of the great Maurya Emperor, while Jayaswal's work on Hindu Polity illuminates many obscure points of ancient Indian statecraft and administration.

Historians differ in presenting an account of the last days of Candragupta. According to Jain tradition Candragupta abdicated the throne and became a Jain ascetic. He is said to have retired to Mysore, where he died.[4] According to Vincent Smith "Chandragupta either abdicated or died in the year 298 B.C." [5]

Candragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusāra, surnamed Amitraghāta (slayer of foes)—an epithet which is quoted, perhaps with reference to this king, in the grammatical work of Patañjali.[6] It is uncertain whether Bindusāra earned, or merely assumed, his sobriquet. The Purāṇas attribute to Bindusāra a reign of twenty-five years, and the Ceylonese chroniclers a reign of twenty-eight years. The Samantapāsādikā,[7] on the other hand, says that he ruled for eighteen years only. According to Smith's chronology, Bindusāra's reign terminated about 273 B.C.[8] The Divyāvadāna [9] tells us that Taxila revolted during his reign, and that he sent his son Aśoka to quell the rebellion. When the prince arrived near Taxila with

[1] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 230.
[2] By Vincent Smith.
[3] By Hem Chandra Rai Chaudhuri.
[4] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 3–4.
[5] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 126.
[6] *Mahābhāṣya*, iii, 2, 88.
[7] Vol. i, p. 73.
[8] *Aśoka*, p. 73.
[9] pp. 371–2.

his troops all disturbance was allayed. The people came out to meet him and said, "We are not opposed to the prince, nor even to King Bindusāra, but the wicked ministers insult us." Aśoka alludes to the high-handedness of the Maurya officials in his Kaliṅga Edict.[1] Nothing of political importance is known to have happened during Bindusāra's reign, but it is clear that he maintained intact the dominions inherited by Candragupta. The friendly relations between India and the Hellenistic powers, which had been initiated by his father Candragupta and the Greek empire-builder Seleukos, continued unbroken throughout his reign.[2]

Bindusāra was succeeded by his son Aśoka, who is said to have won undivided sovereignty over all Jambudvīpa after slaying all his brothers except the youngest, Tissa. Aśoka reigned without coronation for four years,[3] and then consecrated himself as king in the city of Pāṭaliputra.[4] He assumed the title of *Devānaṃpiya*[5] ("dear to the gods"), and loved to speak of himself as *Devānaṃpiya Piyadāsi*. The name Aśoka is found only in literature, and in two ancient inscriptions, viz. the Maski edict of Aśoka himself and the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. Aśoka was at first called Caṇḍāsoka on account of his evil deeds, but he later became known as Dhammāsoka on account of his meritorious deeds.[6] The Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī mentions the name Dharmāśoka.

During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka appears to have followed the traditional Maurya policy of expansion within India and of friendly co-operation with foreign powers. In the thirteenth year of his reign he conquered the kingdom of the Three Kaliṅgas or Kaliṅga, and annexed it to his empire. The annexation of Kaliṅga, like that of Aṅga by Bimbisāra, was a great landmark in the history of Magadha and of India. But the unavoidably heavy loss of life and property involved in the conquest of Kaliṅga made a deep impression on Aśoka and awakened in him feelings of profound compunction and sorrow. About this time he appears to have come under the influence of Buddhist teachers. This opened a new era—an era of peace and kindness to all animate beings, of

[1] *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., pp. 194–5.
[2] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 156 ff.
[3] *Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 41. *Cattāri vassāni anabhisitto'va rajjaṃ kāretvā* . . .
[4] V. A. Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 232.
[5] Cf. *Rock Edicts*.
[6] *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. v.

social progress, of religious propaganda, and it marked the close of a career of conquest and aggressiveness. "The martial spirit of Magadha began to die out for want of exercise." Thus came to an end the era of political *digvijaya* begun by his mighty grandfather, giving place to the sacred era of *dhammavijaya* or conquest by the spiritual force of non-violence. Aśoka's change of religion after the Kaliṅga war resulted in a change of the monarch's internal as well as foreign policy. He maintained friendly relations with the South Indian and Hellenistic powers. He renounced once for all the old policy of violence, of conquering peoples, suppressing revolt by force and annexing territory. In Edict IV he says with a spirit of exultation, "the reverberation of the war-drums (*bherighoṣo*) has become the reverberation of the Law (*dhammaghoṣo*)." He called upon his future successors—sons and grandsons—to shun new conquests. This change of policy darkened the political horizon of the Magadhan empire in its heyday. Magadha, which before Bimbisāra was merely a tiny state in South Bihar, had during the interval from the time of Bimbisāra to the Kaliṅga war of Aśoka expanded to a gigantic empire from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. After the Kaliṅga war the political destiny of Magadha was reversed. The empire gradually became smaller and smaller till it sank to its pre-Bimbisarian area and position.

At one time King Bindusāra used to give alms to 60,000 Brahmins and heretics. Aśoka also followed his father for some time in making donations to non-Buddhist ascetics and institutions. But becoming displeased with them he stopped further grants to them, and gave charities to the Buddhist bhikkhus.[1] Aśoka sent missionaries all over India and also to Ceylon to preach the Buddhist *Dhamma*. Almost all of these missionaries were natives of Magadha.[2]

Aśoka continued the Council Government of his predecessors. The inscriptions bear ample testimony to the fact that he also retained the system of provincial administration in vogue under his forefathers. The emperor and the princes who often acted as viceroys in charge of the provinces were helped by a number of officials, who, according to the Edicts, may be classed as (1) the Mahāmātras, (2) the Rājukas, (3) the Prādeśikas, (4) the Yutas

[1] *Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 44.
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[1] *Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 44.
[2] Ibid., i, p. 63.

(the Yuktas of the Arthaśāstra, p. 59), (5) Pulisā, (6) Paṭivedakā, and (7) Vachabhūmikā.[1]

Aśoka was succeeded by Daśaratha, who was followed by a succession of weak Maurya kings who had only a vestige of the great power that Aśoka wielded. Bṛhadratha, the last of the Maurya dynasty, was treacherously murdered by his commander-in-chief, Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, who established himself upon the throne of his master and set up the Śuṅga dynasty. The Divyāvadāna (p. 434) tells us that the Emperor continued to reside in Pāṭaliputra. Puṣyamitra ruled over Magadha for thirty-six years from about 185 to 149 B.C. During his reign the Mantripariṣad (Assembly of Councillors) continued to be an important element of the governmental machinery. The viceregal princes were assisted by *pariṣads*.[2] The historical events worth mentioning during Puṣyamitra's reign were the Vidarbha war and the Greek invasion. The former resulted in the splitting up of the kingdom of Vidarbha into two states, between which the river Varadā formed the boundary. The latter is referred to in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra. Unfortunately the name of the Greek invader is not given in either of these works. Historians differ as to the identity of the invader, but they agree that he was a Bactrian Greek. Dr. Rai Chaudhuri[3] adduces strong evidence to identify Demetrius with the Yavana invader referred to by Patañjali and Kālidāsa. Puṣyamitra died in or about 149 B.C., as the Purāṇas affirm. He was followed by nine kings, who ruled for seventy-six years. The Śuṅga dynasty probably lasted for 112 years. The last of the Śuṅga monarchs was Devabhūti, who was a young and dissolute prince. The Purāṇas state that he was overthrown by his minister Vāsudeva Kāṇva. Rapson[4] says that the Śuṅgas were a military power, but in later times they became puppets in the hands of their Brahmin councillors. They probably ruled originally as feudatories of the Mauryas at Vidiśā, the modern Besnagar, on the Vetravatī (Betwa) near Bhilsa, and about 120 miles east of Ujjain. The Śuṅga dynasty probably came to an end about 73 B.C., and was succeeded by the Kāṇva dynasty, which lasted till 27 B.C., when the Andhras came into power. For some time Pāṭaliputra

[1] For a full account of this reign, see Vincent Smith's *Aśoka*.
[2] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., pp. 324–5.
[3] Ibid., pp. 308 ff.
[4] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, ch. xxi, pp. 522–3.

may have acknowledged their supremacy, but later on it must have re-asserted its independence. After the period of the Andhras, the history of Pāṭaliputra passes into oblivion.

At the beginning of the fourth century A.D. the Magadhan monarchy again rose into prominence under the Guptas. I-tsing mentions a king Mahārāja Śrīgupta of Magadha, who may be placed in about the second century A.D. (A.D. 175). But the first independent sovereign (Mahārājādhirāja) was Candragupta, son of Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, and grandson of Mahārāja Gupta. Candragupta ascended the throne in A.D. 320, the initial date of the Gupta era. Like Bimbisāra he strengthened his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, who appear to have continued to occupy an influential position in Northern India, though for a time their glory was eclipsed by the rising state of Magadha. The union of Candragupta I with the Licchavis is commemorated by a series of coins, and by the Allahabad inscription. Through his Licchavi connection Candragupta was elevated from the rank of a local chief, and he proceeded to lay the foundations of the Second Magadhan Empire. His son and successor Samudragupta often felt pride in describing himself as the son of the daughter of the Licchavis. Before his death Candragupta selected Samudragupta, his son by the Licchavi princess, as his successor. It is clear from the Allahabad *praśasti* and from the epithet *tatpādaparigṛhīta* applied to Samudragupta in other inscriptions that the prince was selected by Candragupta from among his sons as best fitted to succeed him. It was the aim of Samudragupta to bring about the political unification of India and to make himself an Ekarāṭ (single sovereign) over this united empire; but his only permanent annexation was that of parts of Āryāvarta lying within the Gangetic basin.[1] Samudragupta made the rulers of the Āṭavika rājyas (forest kingdoms) his servants, led an expedition to the south, and made his strength felt by the powerful rulers of the Eastern Deccan. Here he defeated the kings, but, following the pre-Mauryan Hindu policy, he did not annex their territory. According to Dr. Fleet,[2] the Āṭavika rājyas were closely connected with Ḍabhālā, i.e. the Jabalpur region.[3] The Eran

[1] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 447.
[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, p. 114.
[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, viii, pp. 284–7.

inscription of Samudragupta bears testimony to the conquest of this region and to the fact that the Vākāṭakas of the Western Deccan were deprived of their possessions in Central India by the Emperor.[1] The kings (mostly of Dakṣiṇāpatha) who came into conflict with the great Gupta conqueror were Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarāja of Kaurāla, Svāmidatta of Piṣṭapura and of Koṭṭūra on Mahendragiri, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī, Nīlarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vengī, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kuvera of Devarāṣṭra, and Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura.[2] The tribal states of the Punjab, Western India, and Malwa are also said to have complied with his imperious commands (*pracaṇḍa-śāsana*), "giving all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders, and coming to perform obeisance". The most important among the eastern kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor were Samataṭa (part of Eastern Bengal bordering on the sea), Ḍavāka (not yet satisfactorily identified), and Kāmarūpa (in Assam).[3] The Dāmodarpur plates inform us that Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta Empire and was governed by a line of Uparika Mahārājas as vassals of the Gupta Emperor. The dominion under the direct government of Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century comprised all the most populous and fertile provinces of Northern India. It extended from the Brahmaputra on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmadā on the south. Beyond these wide limits the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and the free tribes of Rajputana and Malwa, were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance, while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the Emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might.[4] The exact year of Samudragupta's death is not yet ascertainable. Dr. Rai Chaudhuri states[5] that he died some time after A.D. 375. He was succeeded by his son Candragupta II (born of Queen Dattadevī), who assumed the title of Vikramāditya (sun of power). He was also called Siṃhacandra

[1] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., pp. 455-6.
[2] Ibid., p. 452.
[3] Ibid., p. 456.
[4] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 303.
[5] *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 464.

and Siṃhavikrama. Certain Vākāṭaka inscriptions and the Sānchi inscription of A.D. 412 call him Devagupta or Devarāja.[1]

The greatest military achievement of Candragupta Vikramāditya was his advance to the Arabian Sea through Malwa and Gujarat, and his subjugation of the peninsula of Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar, governed for centuries by rulers known to European scholars as Śaka Satraps.[2] As a result of the Western expedition Malwa and Surāṣṭra were added to the Gupta dominions. Another event of political importance was the Emperor's matrimonial alliance with the Vākāṭaka king of the Deccan, by the marriage of the Emperor's daughter Prabhāvatī with King Rudrasena II, son of Pṛthvīṣeṇa I. The original capital of Magadha under Candragupta II was Pāṭaliputra, but after his western conquests Ujjain was made a second capital. Smith says, " Ajodhyā enjoyed a more favourable situation and appears to have been at times the headquarters of the government of both Samudra Gupta and his son, the latter of whom probably had a mint for copper coins there. There is reason to believe that during the fifth century Ajodhyā rather than Pāṭaliputra was the premier city of the Gupta empire." [3] Detailed information regarding the administrative history of the Magadhan Empire under Candragupta II is not available, but the narrative of Fa-Hien and the inscriptions that have hitherto been discovered throw much light on the character of his administration, and on the social and religious condition of India at the time. The Rājā was the head of the state. He was apparently nominated by his predecessor, both primogeniture and capacity being taken into consideration. A body of high ministers, whose office was very often hereditary, used to assist him. There was no distinction between civil and military officials.

After Candragupta II the Gupta power in Magadha was temporarily eclipsed by the Puṣyamitras.[4] Then followed the Hūṇa invasion, in which the emperor Skandagupta, according to Dr. Rai Chaudhuri,[5] was presumably victorious, but according to Smith [6] was unable to continue the successful resistance which he had offered

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 160.
[2] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 307.
[3] Ibid., p. 310.
[4] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 478.
[5] Ibid., p. 488.
[6] *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 328.

in the earlier days of his rule, and was forced at last to succumb to the repeated attacks of the foreigners. But the Magadhan empire did not wholly perish on the death of Skandagupta. It was ruled by Puragupta, Narasiṃhagupta, Kumāragupta II, and Buddhagupta. Then the imperial line passed on to a dynasty of eleven Gupta princes known as the "later Gupta monarchs of Magadha". The Dāmodarpur plates, Sārnāth inscriptions, the Eran epigraph of Buddhagupta, and the Betul plates of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Saṃkṣobha, dated in the year A.D. 518, testify to the fact that the Gupta empire continued to exert sovereign rights in the latter half of the fifth as well as the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. In the first half of the seventh century Harṣa, the great Kanauj monarch, overshadowed the Gupta power, which was revived by Ādityasena, who assumed the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. Ādityasena and his successors, as proved by the Aphsaḍ and Deo-Baruṇark inscriptions, were the only North-Indian sovereigns who laid claim to the imperial dignity during the last quarter of the seventh century A.D., and appear actually to have dominated Magadha and Madhyadeśa. The last king of the line of Ādityasena was Jīvitagupta II, who reigned early in the eighth century A.D. About this time the throne of Magadha was occupied by a Gauḍa king named Gopāla, as the Pāla inscriptions seem to indicate.[1] Then the great Magadhan empire decayed politically, being included in the Gauḍa empire of the Pālas and Senas, but it continued to remain a centre and headquarters of Buddhist learning up to the time of the Muhammadan conquests at the close of the twelfth century, when the monasteries with their well-stocked libraries were reduced to ashes.[2]

Magadha and its ancient capital Rājagṛha were intimately associated with the Buddha. Magadha was the scene of the real birth of Buddhism.[3] The Buddha's chief disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, were natives of Magadha, and it was at Rājagṛha that they were converted by the Buddha.[4] Their conversion, and the consequent desertion of the school of Sañjaya the Wanderer, must have created a sensation among the citizens of Rājagṛha.[5]

[1] Ibid., p. 413.
[2] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 420.
[3] Malalasekera, *Pāli Proper Names Dicty.*, ii, s.v. *Magadha*.
[4] *Kathāvatthu*, i, 97; *Vinayapiṭaka*, i, 37 ff.
[5] *Vinaya, Cullavagga*, p. 14.

Another notable conversion was that of Mahākāśyapa, who formerly belonged to another religious sect. Persons of many well-known families either became monks or lay supporters of the new doctrine. For want of accommodation in Veṇuvana, the bhikkhus passed the night in grottoes and caverns of the hills surrounding the city. This induced Anāthapiṇḍika, the great banker of Rājagṛha, to undertake, with the permission of the Buddha, to build some sixty *vihāras* for them.

Rājagṛha was the first place visited by the Bodhisattva after his adoption of ascetic life at Anupiyā in the Malla territory. It was here that he begged his food from door to door for the first time.[1] It was somewhere in Magadha, between Rājagṛha and Uruvelā, that he met and placed himself under the training of Ārāḍa Kālāma and Udra Rāmaputra in the method of Yoga.[2] He eventually selected Uruvelā in Magadha as the most fitting place for meditation and the attainment of enlightenment. Shortly after his attainment of Buddhahood it was suggested to him that his primary task was the reformation of the religions of Magadha, which had all become corrupt.[3]

A notable triumph of the Buddha in Magadha was the conversion of the three great leaders of the Jaṭilas with their thousand followers. With all these new converts he proceeded towards Rājagṛha and halted on the way at Laṭṭhi-vana or Yaṣṭi-vana, a beautiful palm-grove belonging to King Bimbisāra. He was received with ovations by all the citizens of Rājagṛha and the inhabitants of Aṅga-Magadha, headed by King Bimbisāra.[4]

The conversion of the king (who was the Buddha's junior in age by five years) to the new faith proved a great incentive to the people at large to welcome it. King Bimbisāra made a gift of his bamboo grove, Veluvana-Kalandaka-Nivāpa, to the Buddha and his disciples.[5] With the formation of the order of Bhikkhuṇīs at Vaiśālī, many women of Rājagṛha, headed by Khemā, the gifted queen of Bimbisāra, joined the order.[6] Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī,

[1] *Suttanipāta*, pp. 72 ff.; Fausböll, *Jātaka*, i, pp. 65 ff.

[2] *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, pp. 163 ff.; *Mahāvastu*, ii, 118, iii, 322; *Lalitavistara*, vii, v. 54; Fausböll, *Jātaka*, i, pp. 66 ff.

[3] *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, p. 168; *Vinaya*, *Mahāvagga*, p. 5.

[4] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 146; *Mahāvastu*, iii, 441 ff.

[5] *Vinaya*, *Mahāvagga*, p. 39; Fausböll, *Jātaka*, i, p. 85.

[6] *Therīgāthā Comm.*, pp. 127–8.

who was converted by the Buddha, went to Magadha after she became a *therī*, and lived in Gijjhakūṭa for some time.[1] Therī Cālā was born in Magadha at Nālakagāma, in an influential Brahmin family. She, Upacālā, and Sisupacālā were the sisters of Sāriputta. They obtained ordination from the Buddha when they learnt that Sāriputta had been ordained.[2] Other Magadhan ladies who entered the Order were Mettikā and Subhā, the daughters of an eminent Brahmin of Rājagṛha,[3] Dhammadinnā,[4] Cittā,[5] and Subhā, a goldsmith's daughter.[6]

The Theragāthā records the influence of the Buddha's teachings. For instance, once the Buddha gave instruction to Visākha, the son of a rājā in Magadha, and as a result Visākha renounced the world.[7] The Divyāvadāna [8] gives an account of a journey from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛha which was undertaken by the Buddha and his monks. In the course of this journey the Buddha six times saved some merchants of Śrāvastī from being robbed. Velaṭṭha Kaccāna was another trader, who on his way to Rājagṛha from Andhakavindha met the Buddha and his pupils, and offered each bhikkhu a pot of molasses.[9]

The Dīgha Nikāya [10] narrates that at Rājagṛha the Buddha summoned all the bhikkhus and prescribed several sets of seven conditions of welfare for the Saṅgha. Once the Buddha while sojourning amongst the Magadhas went to a Brahmin village named Khānumata, and took up his abode in the Ambalaṭṭhikā grove (mango-grove). An influential Brahmin named Kūṭadanta, the owner of the village, together with many Brahmin householders, was converted to the Buddhist faith after conversing with the Buddha.[11]

The Pali texts abound in references to the Buddha's experiences and converts in Magadha, and especially at Rājagṛha.[12] One of the best known stories is that of the Buddha and Bharadvāja, the

[1] Ibid., pp. 106–7.
[2] *Therīgāthā*, pp. 28 and 148.
[3] Ibid., pp. 162–3.
[4] Ibid., p. 16.
[5] Ibid., p. 27.
[6] Ibid., p. 142.
[7] *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 152.
[8] pp. 55, 94–5.
[9] *Vinayapiṭaka*, i, pp. 224–5.
[10] ii, pp. 76–81.
[11] *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, pp. 127 ff.
[12] See, e.g. *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, pp. 150 ff.; ii, pp. 202–3, 218; iii, pp. 36 ff., 58, 99, 194 ff.; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i, pp. 8 ff., 27–8, 52, 55, 65–7, 106–7, 160–4, 166–7, 185 ff.; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, ii, pp. 29–30, 181–2; iii, pp. 366 ff., 374 ff., 383 ff.; *Majjhima Nikāya*, iii, 237 ff.; *Jātaka*, i, 65–6, 86, 156.

Brahmin ploughman of Ekanālā, a Magadhan village.[1] The Dīgha Nikāya and Sumaṅgalavilāsinī give a beautiful account of the visit paid to the Buddha by the parricide monarch of Magadha, Ajātaśatru. Territorial expansion could not satisfy Ajātaśatru or bring peace to his perturbed mind. After murdering his father he could not sleep soundly, but dreamed dreadful dreams; and he devised various means of spending the night without sleep. On one occasion the whole of Rājagṛha was illumined and decorated and was full of festivities and enjoyments. Ajātaśatru with his ministers went on the terrace and watched the festivities going on in the city so that he might not fall asleep. The moonlit night by its soft beauty elevated his soul, and the thought arose within him of approaching a "Samaṇa or Brāhmaṇa" who could bring solace to his tortured mind.[2] Hearing of the great virtues of the Buddha from Jīvaka, the greatest physician of the day, Ajātaśatru came to the mango-grove where the Buddha was staying,[3] and asked whether he could show him the effect of leading the life of a Samaṇa. The Buddha did so by delivering to the repentant king a discourse on various virtues of the ascetic life as narrated in the Sāmaññaphala Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya.[4]

Once Vassakāra (later the chief minister of Ajātaśatru) began the work of repairing the fort at Rājagṛha. He needed timber for the purpose, and went to the reserved forest, but was informed that the wood was taken by a bhikkhu named Dhaniya. Vassakāra complained to King Bimbisāra, and the incident was brought to the notice of the Buddha, who ordered the bhikkhus not to take anything which was not offered or presented to them.[5]

The Buddha passed away in the eighth year of Ajātaśatru's reign.[6] It was from Rājagṛha that he started on his last journey to Kusinārā, stopping on the way at Ambalaṭṭhikā, Nālandā, and Pāṭaligāma, and delivering fruitful discourses to all who came in contact with him.[7] After the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, his relics were distributed among various clans. Ajātaśatru obtained a share

[1] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i, pp. 172–3; *Suttanipāta*, i, 3.
[2] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, 141–2.
[3] Ibid., i, 151–2.
[4] Ibid., i, pp. 158 ff. See also *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, 47 ff.
[5] *Vinayapiṭaka*, iii, pp. 41–5.
[6] *Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 72.
[7] *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, pp. 72–89.

and enshrined it with great respect and honour, instituting a worship of the relics on a grand scale.[1] He built *dhātu-caityas* all round Rājagṛha, his capital,[2] and at his own cost repaired eighteen *mahāvihāras* at Rājagṛha which had been deserted by the bhikkhus after the Buddha's death.[3] The bhikkhus, headed by Mahākassapa, performed the funeral ceremony of the Buddha, and resolved to hold a council at Rājagṛha.[4] Accordingly Rājagṛha is famous in the history of Buddhism as the place where 500 distinguished theras met under the leadership of the Venerable Mahākassapa to recite the doctrine and discipline of the Buddha, and fix the Buddhist canon.[5] All later traditions, whether in Pali or Sanskrit, tell us that the First Council was convoked in front of the Saptaparṇī or Saptaparṇa cave on a slope of the Vaibhāra hill, and under the auspices of King Ajātaśatru, who constructed a suitable *maṇḍapa*[6] for the purpose; but the Vinaya account distinctly says that the main reason for selecting Rājagṛha for the purpose was that it could afford spacious accommodation for the 500 theras.

The shady slopes and caverns of the hills around Rājagṛha were fitting places for the lonely meditation of bhikkhus and bhikkhuṇīs, theras and therīs. The sombre beauty of the hills and the retreats was much praised by the Buddha.[7]

The Vimānavatthu Commentary points out that Rājagṛha was much frequented by Gautama Buddha and his disciples. The people of Rājagṛha were always ready to satisfy the needs of the bhikkhus.[8] Buddhaghosa records various facts about Rājagṛha. For instance, two chief disciples of the Buddha went to the city, and the inhabitants showered charities upon them. A silk robe was also given in charity to Devadatta (the Buddha's wicked cousin).[9] The Samantapāsādikā records that Rājagṛha was a good place, having accommodation

[1] *Paramatthadīpanī on the Petavatthu*, p. 212.
[2] *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 247. *Ekatiṃsatimoparicchedo*, v. 21.
[3] *Samantapāsādikā*, i, pp. 9–10.
[4] *Mahāvaṃsa*, chap. 3, pp. 16 ff.
[5] *Vinaya*, *Cullavagga*, xi.
[6] [Possibly this was a wooden structure forming a sort of roofed veranda in front of the cave. There is reason to think that such a structure was erected in front of the cave, with a Jaina image, on the S.E. foot of this same hill.—C. E. A. W. O.]
[7] *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, p. 116.
[8] *Vimānavatthu Comm.*, pp. 250–1; and see ibid., pp. 246–7; 27–8. *Dhammapada Comm.*, i, pp. 77 ff.

for a large number of bhikkhus.[1] We may also mention two Jātaka references to legends regarding Rājagṛha.[2]

It is not possible to refer to all of the stories told of the Buddha's disciples and their connection with Magadha, and particularly Rājagṛha. We have already mentioned the fact that Sāriputta was a native of Magadha; he is often referred to in the Pali literature.[3] It was at Rājagṛha that Anāthapiṇḍika, the great banker of Śrāvastī, was converted by the Buddha.[4] The Manorathapūraṇī relates that Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, one of the Buddha's foremost disciples, was born at Rājagṛha in a rich Brahmin family.[5] It further narrates that Cullapanthaka and Mahāpanthaka, grandsons of Dhanaseṭṭhi, a banker of Rājagṛha, could by their supernatural power create as many bodies as they liked.[6] Kumārakassapa, foremost of the orators amongst the Buddha's pupils, was born at Rājagṛha.[7] While the Buddha was at Rājagṛha at Kalandakanivāpa, a party of six bhikkuṇīs went to attend the Giraggasamajja, a kind of festival.[8] Apparently such festivals were common in the Magadhan capital, for we read in the Jātaka (I, 489) that there was a festival at Rājagṛha where people drank wine, ate flesh, danced and sang; and in the Visuddhimagga[9] we read of a festival at Rājagṛha in which five hundred virgins offered Mahākassapa-thera a kind of cake, which he accepted. Another celebration known as Nakkhattakīḷa (sport of the stars), in which the rich took part, used to be held at Rājagṛha, and lasted a week.[10]

The Divyāvadāna contains several stories about Rājagṛha. For instance, a householder went to sea with merchandise[11]; on another occasion 500 merchants came to Rājagṛha, but could not buy merchandise as there was a festival going on at the time.[12] Once a childless merchant of Rājagṛha died. The inhabitants of the town put seeds of various colours into a pot, and declared that the

[1] Vol. i, P.T.S., pp. 8–9.
[2] *Jātaka* (Fausböll), no. 445, iv, pp. 37 ff.; no. 311, iii, pp. 33 ff.
[3] See, e.g., *Anguttara Nikāya*, v, pp. 120–1; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, iv, 251–260.
[4] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i, pp. 55–6.
[5] Sinhalese edn., p. 122.
[6] *Manorathapūraṇī*, Sinhalese edn., pp. 130 ff.
[7] Ibid., pp. 173 ff.; and see *Dhammapada Comm.*, iii, pp. 144 ff.
[8] *Vinayapiṭaka*, iv, 267.
[9] Vol. ii, p. 403.
[10] *Vimānavatthu Comm.*, pp. 62–74. [11] p. 301. [12] p. 307.

person who was able to pick out seeds of one colour only would become the merchant (i.e. his heir).[1]

A certain merchant of Rājagṛha built a *vihāra* for the bhikkhus.[2] The Vinayapiṭaka[3] tells us a story of a trader who had made preparations to go on a journey from Rājagṛha to Patiyāloka, when a bhikkhu on his begging tour came to the trader's house for alms. The trader exhausted the food which he had collected for the journey by giving it to several bhikkhus. Not being able to start on his journey when he had intended, he set out late and was killed by robbers on the way.

It is apparent from the foregoing references that many people of Magadha and more especially of Rājagṛha were engaged in trade and commerce. There are numerous references in the Jātakas to big bankers of Magadha in the Buddha's time. In the Asampadāna Jātaka, for instance, we find that a Magadhan *seṭṭhi* or banker named Saṅkha was the possessor of eighty crores of wealth. He had a friend in Benares who was also a banker, having the same amount of riches. Saṅkha helped his friend greatly, but was repaid by base ingratitude. Hearing of this ingratitude, the king caused the banker of Benares to give all his wealth to his benefactor; but the Magadhan banker was so honest that he refused to take back more than his own money.[4] The Petavatthu Commentary tells us that there was a merchant at Rājagṛha who was so very wealthy that his immense riches could not be exhausted even if 1,000 coins were spent every day.[5]

Rājagṛha, the ancient capital of Magadha, had many names in the course of its long history; and many explanations of these names have been put forward by various authorities, indigenous and foreign. By some it was said that Rājagṛha (Pali Rājagaha) was so called because it was founded by a king, and every house in it resembled a palace.[6] Buddhaghosa says, however, that the town was called Rājagaha because it was used as a residence (lit. seized) by Mandhātā, Mahāgovinda, and the rest.[7] Dhammapāla refers to another opinion accounting for the name Rājagaha as a prison for inimical kings (*paṭirājūnaṃ gahabhūtattā*).[8] The town

[1] p. 309.
[2] *Vinayapiṭaka*, ii, p. 146.
[3] iv, pp. 79–80.
[4] *Jātaka* (Fausböll), i, pp. 466–7.
[5] pp. 2–9.
[6] Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 162, note.
[7] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 132.
[8] *Udāna-vaṇṇanā*, Siamese edn., p. 32. Cf. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, x, ch. 7, according to which Jarāsandha imprisoned several kings in Rājagṛha.

was also called Kuśāgrapura, "the city of the points of grass-stalks," which abounded there,[1] or "city of [King] Kuśāgra", and Girivraja because it was surrounded by mountains.[2] Girivraja is the name which was given in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata to the old capital of Jarāsandha, king of Magadha. Dhammapāla says that the place was originally built or planned by Mahāgovinda, the famous architect,[3] while in the Sāsanavaṃsa we read that King Mandhātā was the founder of Rājagaha,[4] and in the Sutta Nipāta Commentary it is stated that Rājagaha was ruled by famous kings like Mandhātā and Mahāgovinda.[5] In the Jātakas it is mentioned as a great city.[6]

The Mahābhārata describes Girivraja or Rājagṛha, the capital of Jarāsandha, as a city which had a teeming population and was noted for hot springs (*tapoda*). Jinaprabhasūri tells us that it contained 36,000 houses of merchants, half of which belonged to the Buddhists, while the other half, belonging to the Jainas, stood forth in the middle as a row of magnificent buildings.[7] Buddhaghosa too mentions Rājagaha as a city, the inner and outer areas of which contained each nine crores of people. The city had thirty-two gates and sixty-four posterns.[8] According to the Chinese pilgrims' accounts high mountains surrounded it on every side and formed its external ramparts as it were. On the west it could be approached through a narrow pass, while on the north there was a passage through the mountains. The town was extended (i.e. broad) from east to west, and narrow from north to south. It was about 150 li in circuit. The remaining foundations of the wall of the inner city were about 30 li in circuit. *Kaṇika* trees with fragrant bright golden blossoms were on all the paths, and these made the woods in late spring all golden-coloured.[9]

[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, 148.

[2] *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparvan, ch. xxi, v. 3. For a detailed description of the mountains surrounding Rājagṛha, see B. C. Law, *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature*, MASI, no. 58.

[3] *Vimānavatthu Comm.*, p. 82—*Mahāgovinda—paṇḍitena vatthuvijjāvidhinā sammad'eva nivesite, sumāpite.*

[4] p. 152.

[5] p. 413.

[6] i, 301.

[7] *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 22.

[8] Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 323.

[9] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, 160; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, 148.

Hsüan Tsang would have us believe that the name Rājagṛha was strictly applicable only to the new city built either by Bimbisāra or by Ajātaśatru, not far to the north-east from Veṇuvana [1] (the old city being known as Girivraja). Fa-Hien, too, speaks of the "old city" and the "new city". By the old city Hsüan Tsang distinctly means Kuśāgrapura, and by the new city he means the city which King Ajātaśatru made his capital.

The Jaina Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa speaks of Rājagṛha as the residence of such kings and princes as Jarāsandha, Śreṇika, Kūṇika, Abhaya, Megha, Halla, Vihalla, and Nandiṣeṇa.[2] Śreṇika was no other than King Seṇiya Bimbisāra of Pali literature, and Kūṇika was King Ajātaśatru. Abhaya, Megha, Halla, Vihalla, and Nandiṣeṇa we have already referred to as sons of Bimbisāra.

During the reigns of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, the city of Rājagṛha was at the height of its prosperity. Aṅga formed an integral part of the kingdom of Magadha, which comprised an area covered by the modern districts of Patna, Gaya, Monghyr, and Bhagalpur. The Jain texts describe Rājagṛha as a city which was rich, happy, and thriving [3]; but some two centuries after the death of Mahāvīra a terrible famine visited Magadha.[4] Rājagṛha must have lost its glory with the removal of the capital to Pāṭaliputra or Kusumapura by Udāyibhadda, some twenty-eight years after the Buddha's demise. But the Hāthigumpha inscription lifts the veil for a moment, and shows that when Bṛhaspatimitra was king of Magadha (second century B.C.) King Khāravela of Kaliṅga marched towards Magadha after having stormed Gorathagiri, and brought pressure to bear upon Rājagṛha (*Rājagahaṃ upapīḍāpayati*).[5] Rājagṛha must have been used by the then king of Magadha, if not as a capital, at least as a strong fortress against foreign inroads. As was the case with most if not all ancient cities, Rājagṛha was walled; we read in the Vinayapiṭaka (IV, pp. 116–17) that the city-gate of Rājagṛha was closed in the evening, and then nobody, not even the king, was allowed to enter the city. The same inscription refers to Aṅga and Magadha as united into one kingdom.

When Fa-Hien visited the place in the fifth century A.D. he

[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, 162.
[2] p. 22.
[3] *Jaina Sūtras*, pt. ii, p. 419.
[4] Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 10.
[5] Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, p. 17.

found the sites still there as of old, but inside the city all was "emptiness and desolation"; no man dwelt in it.[1] The Karanda Veṇuvana monastery was still in existence, tenanted by a "company of monks".[2] At the time of Hsüan Tsang's visit in the seventh century A.D. "the only inhabitants of the city were 1,000 Brahmin families", and many Digambaras lodged on the Pi-pu-lo (Vaibhāra)[3] mountain and practised austerities.[4]

Rājagṛha was intimately associated not only with the development of Buddhism, but also with its rival religion, Jainism, and with earlier popular creeds such as Nāga- and Yakkha-worship. Nāgas and Yakkhas were popular objects of veneration in Rājagṛha in early times, while old ruined temples of Gaṇeśa and Śiva still remain on Vaibhāra-giri. Rājagṛha was popularly thought to have been so much under the influence of such malevolent spirits as Nāgas and Yakṣas that even the Buddhist bhikkhus had to be furnished with a *paritta* or "saving chant" in the shape of the Mahāāṭānāṭiya-suttanta for their protection against them.[5] The hot springs and the Tapodā or Sarasvatī stream carrying water from those hot springs were popularly regarded as places for holy ablutions (*puṇya-tīrtha*).[6] The hot springs of Rājagṛha survive to-day.

Rājagṛha was the earliest known stronghold of heresy and heterodoxy of the age.[7] The early records of Buddhism bring before us six powerful teachers, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Ajita Kesakambali, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (i.e. Mahāvīra), who became founders of schools (*titthakara*) and leaders of thought. Makkhali Gosāla was the leader of the Ājīvikas, and Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta the leader of the Nirgranthas or Jainas. The beginnings of their career are bound up with the history of Rājagṛha.

[1] Legge's *Fā-Hien*, p. 82. [2] Ibid., p. 84.

[3] [By *Pi-pu-lo* Hsüan-tsang here undoubtedly meant what is now known as the Vaibhāra-giri. The Vipula-giri is the hill on the east side of the gap that led from the mountain-girt city within the hills to the "New City" to the north (outside the hills). Vaibhāra is the hill to the west of this gap. For a map showing the relative positions of the hills see the article on *Rājagṛha* in the *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, for 1905–6.—C. E. A. W. O.]

[4] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 154, 162.

[5] *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii, pp. 194 ff.; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, ii, pp. 259–262.

[6] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 154, 162.

[7] The Wanderer Mahāsakuladāyi informed the Buddha that Aṅga and Magadha were full of sophistic activities, *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii, pp. 1–22.

Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was born in Magadha,[1] and he once preached at the court of Bimbisāra with so much force and good logic that the heir, Prince Nandiṣeṇa, was converted.[2] Mahāvīra spent fourteen rainy seasons in Rājagṛha.[3] The eleven Gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra died in Rājagṛha after fasting for a month.[4] Jaya, son of King Samudravijaya of Rājagṛha, renounced the world and practised austerities.[5]

Rājagṛha was one of the three places selected by the Chabbaggiyas (Ṣaḍvargikas) of Vinaya notoriety for planting centres of their mischievous activities. Rājagṛha, too, was the place where Devadatta fell out with the Buddha, tried to do personal harm to him, fomented schism in the Saṅgha, and eventually created a division in it.[6] The Dhammapada Commentary records the jealousy of other sects towards Buddhism. Moggallāna, for example, was struck by certain fanatics with the help of some hired men.[7] In the Petavatthu Commentary we read that many heretics of the Saṃsāramocaka caste lived in some villages of Magadha.[8] Somewhere in Magadha, between Rājagṛha and Uruvela, not far from the Mahānadī (Mohānā), lived two teachers, Ārāḍa Kālāma and Udra Rāmaputra, who founded schools for the training of pupils in Yoga.[9]

The Brahmins who lived in Rājagṛha and around it were mostly of the Bhāradvāja-gotra. Some of them were agnihotris, some upholders of the cult of purity by birth, morals, and penance. They were generally opposed to the conversion of any of their number to the Buddhist and other such non-Brahminical faiths.[10] In the Buddha's time Rājagṛha was surrounded by many Brahmin villages or settlements.[11]

[1] Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 8.
[2] Ibid., p. 126.
[3] *Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E., vol. i, p. 264.
[4] Ibid., p. 287.
[5] Ibid., ii, pp. 86–7. For other mentions of Rājagṛha and Jainism, see ibid., ii, pp. 31 ff., p. 383 f.n.
[6] *Vinaya Cullavagga*, vii.
[7] iii, pp. 65 ff.
[8] pp. 67–72.
[9] *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, pp. 163 ff.; Fausböll, *Jātaka*, i, pp. 66 ff.; *Lalitavistara*, pp. 243 ff.; *Mahāvastu*, vol. ii, p. 118; vol. iii, p. 322; *Buddhacarita*, vi, v. 54; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 141.
[10] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i, pp. 160–7. See also Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 162; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, ii, pp. 238–9; ibid., iv, p. 230.
[11] e.g., Ekanālā, Ambasaṇḍa, Khānumata.

What actually happened to the Buddhist Saṅgha at Rājagṛha as a consequence of the transfer of the capital to Pāṭaliputra we cannot precisely say. But we can tell from glimpses of fact here and there that the process of history was one of decay. Hsüan Tsang tells us that " two or three li to the north-west of this [the Kalanda Tank to the north of the Veṇuvana monastery] was an Aśoka tope beside which was a stone pillar, above 50 feet high, surmounted by an elephant, and having an inscription recording the circumstances leading to the erection of the tope ".[1] The circumstances that led to the erection of the tope at Rājagṛha by Aśoka are also narrated by the Pali scholiasts and chroniclers. The Mahāvaṃsa says that the Venerable Indagutta (Indragupta) went as a representative from all places around Rājagṛha to take part in the grand celebration of a Mahāthūpa in Ceylon during the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (second century B.C.).[2] As some of the images recently discovered at Rājagṛha indicate, there was some renewal of vigour in Buddhist activities at this place under the patronage of the Pāla kings, after which the history of Buddhism at Rājagṛha became practically closed for ever.

We have already indicated that Rājagṛha was surrounded by mountains. The Ṛṣigiri or Isigili, as its name shows, was a favourite hermits' retreat,[3] as indeed were the other mountains which encircled the city.[4] The most famous of these mountains was the Gṛdhrakūṭa or Gijjhakūṭa peak, so called either because it was shaped like a vulture's beak, or because it was frequented by vultures.[5] Dhaniya, a potter's son, made a beautiful hothouse at the foot of the Gijjhakūṭa hill, and many people came to see it.[6]

The Vepullapabbata, which was once known as the Vaṅkakapabbata, was another of the hills surrounding Rājagṛha. King Vessantara was banished to this mountain, which was also called Supassa. It took three days to reach its summit.[7]

[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 162.

[2] Ed. Geiger, pp. 227–8.

[3] *Majjhima Nikāya*, iii, pp. 68–71 ; and see B. M. Barua's *Historical Background of Jinalogy and Buddhalogy*, in the *Calcutta Review*, 1924, p. 61.

[4] For a full account of these mountains, and indeed for everything regarding Rājagṛha, see B. C. Law, *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature*, in *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 58,.

[5] *Suttanipāta Comm.*, p. 413.

[6] *Vinayapiṭaka*, iii, 41–2.

[7] Ibid., ii, 101–2.

Among the villages which lay near Rājagṛha was Ekanālā, a Brahmin village in Dakkhiṇagiri, an important locality which lay to the south of the hills of Rājagṛha. A Buddhist establishment was founded there.[1] The Saṃyutta Nikāya distinctly places it in the kingdom of Magadha, outside the area of Rājagṛha.[2]

Nāla, Nālaka, Nālagāma, or Nālakagāma was a village in Magadha, where Sāriputta died.[3] The Vimānavatthu Commentary[4] locates Nālakagāma in the eastern part of Magadha. The village of Kolika is also associated with Sāriputta.[5]

Khānumata was a prosperous Brahmin village somewhere in Magadha, where a Vedic institution was maintained on land granted by King Bimbisāra.[6] The garden Ambalaṭṭhikā in the vicinity of Khānumata became the site of a Buddhist establishment. The Rājagāraka at Ambalaṭṭhikā was a garden house of King Bimbisāra.[7] Ambalaṭṭhikā stood midway between Rājagṛha and Nālandā,[8] and was the first halting place on the high road which extended in the Buddha's time from Rājagṛha to Nālandā and further north.[9]

The place where King Ajātaśatru is said to have built a stūpa for the enshrinement of his share of the Buddha's relics[10] is an important site from the Buddhist point of view. Hsüan Tsang tells us definitely that this stūpa stood to the east of Veṇuvana.[11]

The Veluvana or Veṇuvana was a charming garden, park, or grove at Rājagṛha surrounded by bamboos.[12] The name may be translated "Bamboo Grove" or "Bamboo Park". The land was received as a gift by the Buddha. The fuller name of the site was Veluvana Kalandaka-nivāpa, the second part of the name indicating that here the *kalandakas* or *kalakas* (squirrels or jays) roamed

[1] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, i, p. 242.
[2] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i, p. 172.
[3] Ibid., v, p. 161.
[4] p. 163.
[5] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 171. Kolika was located eight or nine li (1½ miles) S.W. of the Nālandā monastery.
[6] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 41.
[7] Ibid.
[8] *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, p. 1; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 35.
[9] *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, pp. 72 ff.
[10] Ibid., ii, p. 166. See also *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, ii, pp. 611 and 613.
[11] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 158; *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, p. 600.
[12] Cf. *Suttanipāta Comm.*, p. 419.

about freely and found a good feeding ground. In the Pali accounts King Bimbisāra figures as the donor of the garden. It is certain that the site was outside the "inner city". Fa-Hien definitely informs us that the Karanda Bamboo Garden stood to the north of the old city, over 300 paces from the gate, on the west side of the road.[1] Hsüan Tsang adds further details regarding its site.[2]

Another grove which was presented to the Buddha and his order was the Jīvaka-Ambavana, a mango-grove which Jīvaka converted into a *vihāra*, and gave to the Buddha and his order. King Ajātaśatru had to go out of the city of Rājagṛha to reach this orchard.[3] In the commentary on the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, Buddhaghosa says that the king proceeded by the eastern gate of the city, the "inner city of Rājagaha", under the cover of the Gijjhakūṭa mountain, because the mango-grove stood somewhere between the mountain and the city wall.[4] Fa-Hien places it at the "north-east corner of the city in a (large) curving (space)".[5] Hsüan Tsang, too, locates the site "in a bend of the mountain wall", north-east from the (old) city.[6] According to Watters' suggestion, based upon a Chinese account in the Fo-shuo-sheng-ching, Ch. II, the orchard "was apparently in the inclosure between the city proper and the hills which formed its outer defences on the east side".[7]

Other sites in or near Rājagṛha, which find mention in Pali literature, were the deer-park at Maddakucchī,[8] Pippali-, or Pipphali-guhā, a cave which became a favourite resort of Mahākassapa,[9]

[1] Legge's *Fa-Hien*, pp. 84–5.

[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 162–3.

[3] *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, pp. 47, 49.

[4] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 150; cf. ibid., p. 133.

[5] Legge's *Fā-Hien*, p. 82.

[6] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 150.

[7] Ibid., ii, p. 151.

[The high-road referred to in the Buddhist texts went from the "Old City" within the hills through the gap (see note, p. 31) past the "New City" (the name of which is preserved in that of the modern village of Rājgir) past Nālandā and on to Pāṭaligrāma, and thence, after the Ganges was crossed, on to Vaiśālī and (ultimately) Kuśinagara.—C. E. A. W. O.]

[8] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, i, 77–8; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i, p. 110.

[9] *Udāna*, i, p. 4; *Dhammapada Comm.*, ii, pp. 19–21; D. N. Sen, *Rājgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 5; *Udāna-vaṇṇanā*, Siamese Edn., p. 77; *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*, Paṭala, liii, p. 588.

and which was visited by the Buddha,[1] Ambasaṇḍa (Skt. Āmrakhaṇḍa),[2] a Brahmin village,[3] and the Laṭṭhivana (Skt. Yaṣṭivana), the royal park of Bimbisāra where the Buddha arrived from Gayāsīsa (a hill overlooking the town of Gaya) and halted with the Jaṭila converts on his way to the city of Rājagṛha.[4] The Pāsānaka-cetiya (Pāṣāṇa-caitya) is famous in Buddhist tradition as the place where the Buddha had delivered the Pārāyaṇa Discourses,[5] now embodied in the concluding book of the Sutta-Nipāta.[6] Other places which find mention in Pali literature are Macalagāma,[7] Maṇimālaka-cetiya,[8] and Andhakavindha.[9]

The Majjhima Nikāya describes Senānigāma, one of the villages of Magadha, as having a beautiful forest and a river with transparent water. It was a prosperous village, alms being easily obtainable there.[10]

As already indicated, the later capital of Magadha was Pāṭaliputra, near Patna of the present day, and the seat of the Government of Bihar. Its ancient Sanskrit names were Kusumapura and Puṣpapura from the numerous flowers which grew in the royal enclosure. The

[1] Legge, *Fa-Hien*, p. 85; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 154; *Saṃyutta N.*, v, p. 79.

[2] [There seem grounds for questioning this derivation. Thousands of villages in Bihar are named after trees, but I recall none in which the termination is derived from *khaṇḍa* (hardly applicable to a tree). In local names *āmra* becomes *ām* or *amba*; I know scores of villages with this as the first constituent of the name. A more likely derivation would be from *Āmraṣaṇḍa*, the place of the clump of mango-trees. Many village-names end in *sand(a)*; cf. Belsand, which I derive from *Vilvaṣaṇḍa*, the place of the group of *bel*-trees. The modern local pronunciation of the name of this village is *Aphsand* or *Aphsaṛ*. It is the site of the inscription of Ādityasena, close to a rocky hill, which I incline to identify with the *Indraśālaguha* of the Buddhist pilgrims.—C. E. A. W. O.]

[3] *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, p. 263; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, iii, p. 697.

[4] *Vinaya, Mahāvagga*, i, p. 35; Fausböll, *Jātaka*, i, pp. 83–5; *Samantapāsādikā*, Ceylonese Edn., p. 158; D. N. Sen, *Rājgir and its Neighbourhood*, p. 13; *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 441; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 146–8; see also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 529.

[5] *Commentary on the Cullaniddesa*, Siamese edn., p. 270.

[6] *Suttanipāta*, pp. 218 ff.

[7] Fausböll, *Jātaka*, i, pp. 199–206; *Dhammapada Comm.*, i, pp. 265–280; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, iii, pp. 710 ff.

[8] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i, p. 208.

[9] *Vinaya, Mahāvagga*, i, p. 109. Andhakavinda was connected with Rājagaha by a cart-road.

[10] i, pp. 166–7.

Greek historians call it Palibothra, and the Chinese pilgrims Pa-lin-tou.

Hsüan Tsang, the great Chinese traveller, gives the following account of the legendary origin of the name of the city. Once upon a time a very learned Brahmin had a large number of disciples. On one occasion a party of these disciples were wandering in a wood, and one youth among them appeared unhappy and disconsolate. To amuse the gloomy youth his companions arranged a mock marriage for him. A man and a woman were chosen to represent the bridegroom's parents, and another couple, the parents of the imaginary bride. They were all near a *pāṭali* tree, which was chosen to symbolize the bride. All the ceremonies of marriage were gone through, and the man acting as father of the bride broke off a branch of the *pāṭali* tree and gave it to the bridegroom. When all was over his companions wanted the pseudo-bridegroom to go with them, but he insisted on remaining near the tree. Here at dusk an old man appeared with his wife and a young maiden, whom he gave to the young student to be his wife. The couple lived together in the forest for a year, when a son was born to them. The student, now tired of the lonely life of the woods, wanted to go back to his home, but the old man, his father-in-law, induced him to remain by promising him a properly-built establishment. Afterwards, when the seat of government was removed to this place, it received the name Pāṭaliputra, because it had been built by gods for the son of the Pāṭali tree.[1]

According to Jaina tradition Pāṭaliputra was built by Udaya, son of Darśaka, but the first beginnings were made by Ajātaśatru, for the Buddha, when on his way to Vaiśālī from Magadha, saw Ajātaśatru's ministers measuring out a town.[2]

Pāṭaliputra was originally a village of Magadha, known as Pāṭaligāma, which lay opposite to Koṭigāma on the other side of the Ganges, which formed a natural boundary between Magadha and the territory of the Vṛji-Licchavis of Vaiśālī. The Magadhan village was one of the halting stations on the high road which extended from Rājagṛha to Vaiśālī and other places. The fortifica-

[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 87.

[2] See paper on *Pāṭaliputra* by H. C. Chakladar in the *Modern Review*, March, 1918, where the traditions about the foundation of Pāṭaliputra are discussed at some length.

tion of Pāṭaligāma, which was undertaken in the Buddha's lifetime by the two Brahmin ministers of Magadha, Sunīdha and Varṣakāra, led to the foundation of the city of Pāṭaliputra,[1] to which the capital of Magadha was removed by Udāyi or Udāyibhadda, the son and successor of Ajātaśatru. Thus it may be held that Ajātaśatru was the real builder of Pāṭaliputra, which was in fact the new Rājagṛha[2] or new capital of Magadha, as distinguished from the old Rājagṛha or Girivraja with its outer area.

This tradition somehow became twisted and led the Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hien and Hsüan Tsang to speak of the "old city" and the "new city" of Rājagṛha, both with reference to Girivraja, crediting Ajātaśatru with the building of the "new city". Fa-Hien says that a yojana to the west from Nāla, the place of birth and death of Sāriputra, brought him to "New Rājagṛha, the new city which was built by King Ajātaśatru". There were then (fifth century A.D.) two monasteries in it. It was enclosed by a wall with four gates. Three hundred paces outside the west gate was the stūpa erected by Ajātaśatru over a portion of the relics of the Buddha. Some four li (less than a mile) south from the south gate was the old city of King Bimbisāra, "a circular space formed by five hills." [3]

There may be some truth in the suggestion made by Hsüan Tsang that the cause of removal of the capital was a fire which broke out in the old capital.[4]

Pāṭaliputra was built near the confluence of the great rivers of Mid-India, the Ganges, Son, and Gaṇḍak, but now the Son has receded some distance away from it. The city was protected by a moat 600 feet broad and 30 cubits in depth. At a distance of 24 feet from the inner ditch there stood a rampart with 570 towers and 64 gates. The Samantapāsādikā informs us that Pāṭaliputra had four gates, Aśoka's income from them being 400,000 *kahāpaṇas* daily. In the Sabhā (council) he used to get 100,000 *kahāpaṇas* daily.[5]

[1] *Dīgha-Nikāya*, ii, pp. 86 ff.; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, ii, p. 540.

[2] [Dr. Law seems here to propose to identify the "New City" of the Chinese pilgrims with Pāṭaliputra. This cannot be accepted. The "Old City" (Girivraja) lay within the hills, "encircled by the [five] hills", as the name indicates. The "New City" lay outside the hills, north of the gap through which the Sarasvatī stream flows. The present village of Rājgir roughly indicates the site, and preserves the old name.—C. E. A. W. O.]

[3] Legge, *Fā-Hien*, pp. 81–2.

[4] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 161–2.

[5] *Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 52.

Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the later Śiśunāgas, the Nandas, and also the great Mauryan emperors, Candragupta and Aśoka, but it ceased to be the ordinary residence of the Gupta sovereigns after the completion of the conquests made by Samudragupta.[1]

Fa-Hien came to Pāṭaliputra in the fifth century A.D. The Chinese pilgrim was so much impressed by the glory and splendour of the city that he says that the royal palace and halls in the midst of the city were all made by spirits which Aśoka employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish. There was in the city a Brahmin named Rādhasāmi, a professor of the Mahāyāna system of Buddhism. By the side of the tope of Aśoka there was also a Hīnayāna monastery. The inhabitants of the city were rich, prosperous, and righteous.[2] Fā-Hien further gives an interesting description of a grand Buddhist procession at Pāṭaliputra.[3]

Hsüan Tsang says that south of the Ganges lay an old city above 70 li (about 14 miles) in circuit, the foundations of which were still visible, although the city had long been a wilderness. He notes that it was first called Kusumapura, and then Pāṭaliputra.[4] The poet Daṇḍin speaks of Pāṭaliputra as the foremost of all the cities and full of gems.[5]

During the reign of Candragupta Vikramāditya, Pāṭaliputra was still a magnificent and populous city, and was apparently not ruined until the time of the Hun invasion in the fifth century. Harṣavardhana, when he ruled Northern India as a paramount sovereign (A.D. 612–647), made no attempt to restore the old Magadhan imperial capital, Pāṭaliputra.[6] About A.D. 600 Śaśāṅka Narendragupta, king of Gauḍa and Karṇasuvarṇa, destroyed the "Buddha's footprints" at Pāṭaliputra and demolished many Buddhist temples and monasteries.[7] Dharmapāla, the most powerful of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar, took some steps to renew the

[1] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 300.
[2] Legge, *Fā-Hien*, pp. 77–8.
[3] Ibid., chaps. x–xvii.
[4] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 87.
[5] *Daśakumāracaritam* 1st Ucchvāsa, śl. 2, Pūrvapīṭhikā.
[6] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 293–4.
[7] S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 349.

glory of Pāṭaliputra, but the interests of the Pāla monarchs seem to have been centred in Bengal rather than in Magadha.[1]

As might be expected the Pali Buddhist literature has references to Pāṭaliputra; but as it had not grown up into a city in the Buddha's lifetime, it does not find such frequent mention as Rājagṛha, the ancient capital. However, on one occasion the lay worshippers of Pāṭaligāma, as it then was, built an *āvasathāgāra* (living house), and they invited the Buddha on the occasion of the opening ceremony.[2] An influential Brahmin householder of Benares named Ghoṭamukha built a *vihāra* at Pāṭaliputra for Udena, a bhikkhu, and the *vihāra* was called Ghoṭamukhī.[3] Another bhikkhu, Bhadda, dwelt at Kukkuṭārāma near Pāṭaligāma, and had conversations with Ānanda, the Buddha's famous disciple.[4]

The Dāṭhāvaṃśa contains a long story concerning King Pāṇḍu of Pāṭaliputra, the heretical Nigaṇṭhas, and King Guhasīva, a vassal of Pāṇḍu. In brief, the Nigaṇṭhas went to Pāṇḍu to complain that Guhasīva worshipped the tooth-relic of the Buddha, instead of Pāṇḍu's gods Brahmā, Śiva, and the rest. Pāṇḍu, angered, sent a subordinate king called Cittayāna to arrest and bring Guhasīva to him with the tooth-relic. However, Cittayāna was converted by Guhasīva to be a follower of the Buddha, and together they went to Pāṭaliputra, where a series of miracles ensued, and every effort made by Pāṇḍu to destroy the relic failed. Finally King Pāṇḍu was convinced of the relic's miraculous properties, and gave up his false belief.[5]

Sthūlabhadra, leader of some of the Jaina bhikkhus, summoned a council at Pāṭaliputra (about 200 years after Mahāvīra's death) in the absence of Bhadrabāhu and his party, to collect the Jain sacred literature. Bhadrabāhu on his return refused to accept the work of the Council of Pāṭaliputra.[6]

Pāṭaliputra coins had their own individual marks.[7] The discoveries of punch-marked coins give the death-blow to the theory that all symbols on them " were affixed haphazard by shroffs and

[1] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 310–311.
[2] *Vinayapiṭaka*, i, pp. 226–8.
[3] *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii, pp. 157 ff.
[4] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, v, pp. 15–16, 171–2.
[5] See B. C. Law, *Dāṭhāvaṃśa*, Intro., pp. xii–xiv.
[6] Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 72.
[7] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 100.

moneyers through whose hands the coins passed", and give rise to the incontestable conclusion that they constitute "coinages" peculiar to three different provincial towns, one belonging to Taxila, the second to Pāṭaliputra, and the third to Vidisā (Bhilsa) of Central India.[1]

The following are some of the interesting discoveries made by the Archæological Department of the Government of India on the site of Pāṭaliputra :—

1. Remains of wooden palisades at Lohanipur, Bulandibagh, Maharajganj, and Mangle's tank.
2. Punch-marked coins found at Golakpur.
3. Didarganj statue.
4. Darukhia Devi and Perso-Ionic capital.
5. The railing pillar probably belonging to the time of the Śuṅgas.
6. Coins of Kushāṇa and Gupta kings.
7. Votive clay tablet found near Purabdarwaza.
8. Remains of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monasteries at the time of Fa-Hien, the temples of Sthūlabhadra and other Jaina temples, and the temples of Choti and Bari Patan Devi.[2]

Nālandā [3] was a famous seat of learning in ancient India. It was a village which Cunningham identifies with modern Baragaon, seven miles north of Rājgir in Bihar.[4] Nālandā is mentioned in the Mahāvastu-avadāna [5] as a very prosperous place at no great distance from Rājagṛha.

After the nirvāṇa of the Buddha, five kings, named Śakrāditya, Buddhagupta, Tathāgatagupta, Bālāditya, and Vajra, built five *saṅghārāmas* (monasteries) at Nālandā.[6] In the Buddha's time Nālandā was one of the halting-stations on the high road connecting Rājagṛha with Pāṭaligāma, Koṭigāma, Vaiśālī, etc. Buddhaghosa knew it as a town at a distance of one yojana (about 7 miles) from Rājagṛha.[7] The Pali texts, however, refer not so much to

[1] Ibid., p. 99.
[2] *Pāṭaliputra*, by Manoranjan Ghosh, pp. 14–15.
[3] For interesting accounts of Nālandā *see* *Nālandā* (*JMU*, vol. xiii, no. 2), by K. A. Nilakanta Śāstri; A. Ghosh, *A Guide to Nālandā* (Delhi, 1939); *Nālandā in Ancient Literature* (5th Indian Oriental Conference, 1930).
[4] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 537.
[5] Vol. iii, p. 56.
[6] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 164–5.
[7] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, iii, p. 873; i, p. 35. *Rājagahato pana Nālandā yojanaṃ eva.*

Nālandā itself as to Pāvārika's mango-grove in its vicinity, as the real place of importance both to the Buddhists and the Jainas.[1] According to the tradition recorded by Hsüan Tsang, "in a Mango Wood to the south of this monastery was a tank the dragon of which was called Nālandā, and the name was given to the monastery. But the facts of the case were that Ju-lai (Buddha) as a P'usa (Bodhisattva) had once been a king with his capital here, that as king he had been honoured by the epithet Nālandā or 'Insatiable in giving' on account of his kindness and liberality, and that this epithet was given as its name to this monastery." The grounds of the establishment were originally a mango-park bought by 500 merchants for ten *koṭis* of gold coins and presented by them to the Buddha.[2]

Nālandā was often visited by the Buddha.[3] Mahākassapa, who was at first a follower of a heretical teacher, met the Buddha for the first time while he was seated on the road between Rājagṛha and Nālandā. He declared himself a follower of the Buddha.[4] The Majjhima Nikāya tells us that once Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta was at Nālandā with a large retinue of his followers. A Jaina named Dīghatapassī went to the Buddha, who was in the Pāvārika mango-grove at Nālandā, and the Buddha converted many of Mahāvīra's followers.[5] In the Jaina Sūtras we read that there was at Nālandā a householder named Lepa, who was rich and prosperous. Lepa had a beautiful bathing hall containing many hundreds of pillars. There was a park called Hastiyāma. Once Gautama Buddha lived at Nālandā. He had a discussion with Udaka, a nigaṇṭha and follower of Pārśva, who failed to accept Gautama's views as to the effect of *karma*.[6] It was in Nālandā that Mahāvīra spent the second year of his asceticism, and here too he found many rich supporters. The Kalpa-sūtra (p. 122) informs us that Mahāvīra spent as many as fourteen rainy seasons in Rājagṛha and Nālandā.

According to Tibetan accounts the quarter in which the Nālandā University with its grand library was located was called Dharmagañja (Piety Mart). It consisted of three grand buildings called

[1] *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, p. 371.

[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 164.

[3] See, e.g., *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, pp. 1 ff., 211. Ibid., ii, pp. 81–4; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, iv, pp. 110, 311 ff., 314–17.

[4] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, ii, pp. 219 ff.

[5] *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, pp. 371 ff.

[6] *S.B.E.*, ii, pp. 419–420.

Ratnasāgara, Ratnodadhi, and Ratnarañjaka respectively.[1] Dharmapāla, a native of Kāñcipura in Drāviḍa (modern Conjeevaram in Madras), studied in the university of Nālandā and acquired great distinction. In course of time he became the head of the university.[2] Śīlabhadra, a Brahmin, came of the family of the king of Samataṭa (S. E. Bengal). He was a pupil of Dharmapāla, and in course of time he too became the head of the university.[3] The Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing, who started for India in A.D. 671, arrived at Tāmralipti at the mouth of the Hooghly in A.D. 673. He studied Buddhist literature at Nālandā.[4] He relates that venerable and learned priests of the Nālandā monastery used to ride in sedan chairs, never on horseback.[5]

According to Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa the year A.D. 450 is the earliest limit which we can roughly assign to the royal recognition of Nālandā.[6]

Besides Nālandā, Magadha had other great seats of Buddhist learning which attracted students from all parts of India and beyond, such as the universities of Odantapuri and Vikramaśilā. In the eighth century A.D. Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, founded a great monastery at Uddandapura or Otantapuri in Bihar.[7] As a university the glories of Vikramaśilā were hardly inferior to those of Nālandā. Hither too came students from Tibet, and Tibetan works tell us how Dīpaṅkara or Śrījñāna Atiśa, a native of Bengal, who was at the head of the university from A.D. 1034–8, was induced to go to Tibet and re-establish the Buddhist religion there.[8]

The Vikramaśilā Vihāra was a Buddhist monastery situated on a bluff on the right bank of the Ganges, and had sufficient space within it for a congregation of 8,000 men with many temples and buildings. On the top of the projecting steep hill of Pāthargāṭā

[1] S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 516; see also H. D. Sankalia, *The University of Nālandā* (Madras, 1934).

[2] *History of Indian Logic*, p. 302; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, p. 110.

[3] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, p. 110.

[4] I-tsing, *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, Intro., p. xvii.

[5] Ibid., p. 30.

[6] *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 514–15.

[7] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 413; cf. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. ii, p. 111.

[8] *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. i.

there are the remains of a Buddhist monastery, and the space covered by the ruins is large enough to hold an assembly of many thousands of people. This Pātharghāṭā was the ancient Vikramaśilā.[1] It is said to have included 107 temples and six colleges.[2] In this university many commentaries were composed. It was a centre not only of Tāntric learning but of logic and grammar too, and is interesting as showing the connection between Bengal and Tibet.[3] King Dharmapāla endowed the university with rich grants sufficing for the maintenance of 108 resident monks, besides numerous non-resident monks and pilgrims. At the head of the university there was always a most learned and pious sage. Thus at the time of Dharmapāla, Ācārya Buddhajñānapāda directed the affairs of the university. Grammar, metaphysics (including logic), and ritualistic books were especially studied at Vikramaśilā. On the walls of the university were painted images of learned men (*paṇḍita*) eminent for their learning and character. The distinguished scholars of the university received diplomas of *paṇḍita* from the king himself. The most erudite sages were appointed to guard the gates of the university, which were six in number.

The university of Vikramaśilā is said to have been destroyed by the Muhammadan invader, Bakhtyār Khaljī, about A.D. 1203, when Śākya Śrī Paṇḍita of Kashmir was at its head.[4]

Like princes of most other Indian states, Magadhan princes were frequently educated at Taxila. One Magadhan prince, Duyyodhana, as we learn from the Jātaka, went to Taxila to learn the arts. He later became king, and used to give alms to Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, and others, observe the precepts and perform many meritorious deeds.[5] The Dārimukha and Saṅkhapāla Jātakas have references to the education of Magadhan princes at Taxila.[6]

Magadha was the birth-place of Jīvaka, the famous physician, who was educated at Taxila and on his return to his native city was appointed physician to the royal family.[7] His success in

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, New Series, vol. v, no. 1, pp. 1–13.
[2] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 414.
[3] Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. ii, p. 111.
[4] S. C. Vidyābhūsaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 519–520.
[5] *Jātaka* (Fausböll), v, pp. 161–2.
[6] Ibid., iii, pp. 238–240. Needless to say, the Jātaka contains many stories of supposed previous incarnations of the Buddha, in the course of which he was born in Magadha; e.g. iii, pp. 238–240; i, pp. 199, 213, 373.
[7] *Vinayapiṭaka*, i, pp. 71 ff.

operating on King Bimbisāra won for him the post of royal physician, and the king later appointed him physician to the Buddha and the congregation of bhikkhus. Once, we are told, Magadha was badly attacked by five kinds of diseases, and Jīvaka had to treat the suffering bhikkhus.[1]

The Jātakas are full of interesting information about Magadha. From them we learn that Magadha was famous for conch-shells[2]; that white elephants were used there by the royal family[3]; that agriculture was prosperous, and that some Brahmins used to cultivate land themselves in Magadha.[4] The Vinayapiṭaka states that the fields of Magadha were well divided for the purpose of cultivation.[5] We have already noted that there were stated to be 80,000 villages in Magadha in King Bimbisāra's time. A story reminiscent of the Fools of Gotham is that of a particular village inhabited by fools, who once went to the forest where they used to work for their livelihood. They had to pay the penalty for their foolishness by losing their lives while trying to destroy mosquitoes with bows and arrows.[6]

The Lakkhaṇa Jātaka refers to the destruction of paddy by deer which used to come to the fields during the harvest. The Magadhans laid traps and devised various other means to capture and kill them.[7]

The Aṅguttara Nikāya mentions Magadha as one of the sixteen great *janapadas* or divisions of ancient India, stating that it was full of seven kinds of gems, and had immense wealth and power.[8] Hsüan Tsang gives a fair account of Magadha in the seventh century A.D. According to him the country was 5,000 li in circuit. There were few inhabitants in the walled cities, but the other towns were fully populated. The soil was rich and yielded luxuriant crops. It produced a kind of rice with large grain of extraordinary fragrance. The land was low and moist, and the towns were on plateaux. From the beginning of summer to the middle of autumn the plains were flooded, and boats could be used. The climate was hot, and

[1] Ibid., i, p. 71.
[2] *Jātaka* (Fausböll), vi, p. 465.
[3] Ibid., i, p. 444.
[4] Ibid., iv, pp. 276–7. Cf. the story of Bharadvāja.
[5] *Vinayapiṭaka*, i, p. 287.
[6] *Makasa Jātaka*. *Jātaka*, i, p. 246.
[7] *Jātaka* (Fausböll), i, p. 143. Cf. ibid., p. 154.
[8] i, 213; iv, 252, 256, 260. Cf. *Mahāvastu*, Ed. Senart, ii, p. 419.

the inhabitants were honest, esteemed learning, and revered Buddhism. There were above fifty Buddhist monasteries and more than 10,000 ecclesiastics, for the most part adherents of the Mahāyāna system. There were some deva-temples, and the adherents of the various sects were numerous.[1]

On account of Magadha's predominant political position the language spoken there obtained recognition all over India in very early times. The Mahāvaṃsa goes so far as to tell us that the Māgadhī language is the root of all Indian languages.[2] It was in this Māgadhī language that Buddhaghosa translated the Sinhalese commentary on the Tripiṭaka.[3] At the time of Aśoka, as the numerous inscriptions scattered all over India show, the dialect of Magadha must have been understood over the greater part of India.

[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 86–7; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, pp. 82–3.

[2] *Cūlavaṃsa*, 37, vss. 230, 242–4—*sabbesaṃ mūlabhāsāya Māgadhāya niruttiyā.*

[3] B. C. Law, *The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, p. 37.

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